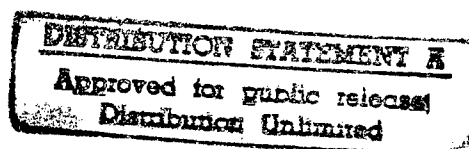




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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 4, July-August 1988

Sociology and Ideology

18060002a Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE

ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian

No 4, Jul-Aug 88 (signed to press 8 Jul 88) pp 3-6

[Editorial: "Sociology and the Renewal of Ideology"]

[Text] Sociological studies cannot be considered in isolation from the ideological situation prevailing in society. Now, as at all major turning points in history, the condition of public awareness has lost its normal character: sharp contradictoriness and rapid shifts in many directions have replaced inflexibility and orderliness. A unique spectrum of ideological opinion has appeared.

At no other time in our history has the ideological situation been so complex and contradictory. The tension, keenness and a certain duality in the situation in the ideological sphere and in ideological processes characterizing its development are linked organically to the qualitative transformations in all aspects of life in society. And at the leading edge stand the revolutionary content of perestroika and its essential nature and historical place in the development of Soviet society.

Essentially, and the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference showed this, it is a question of new strategy in the development of socialism. It is this circumstance that forms the basis of democratization and the radical economic reform—the most important directions and at the same time the two most important levers for the renewal of socialism. Naturally this is creating a new situation in the ideological sphere today, and naturally, there will be ideological consequences in the distant future. Under these conditions qualitative changes are taking place in the thrust and form of party-political leadership and in the entire system of ideological support for the functioning and development of society.

The profound, qualitative changes typifying first and foremost the entire aggregate of economic relations in society are resulting in significant change in attitudes toward property, in particular the acquisition of "units of the national economy," to use Lenin's words, and in the right really to utilize and have disposal of the means of production: extending the cooperative movement and providing incentive for individual and family labor activity. All of this objectively means that in Soviet society a mixed economy is being restored (within defined limits, of course). The course toward developing money-exchange relationships and giving them a role as a production regulator inherent in socialism is moving in this direction.

Given today's absolute need to reduce the state's administrative-managerial influence on production activity, the transfer of the economic organism to self-regulation on the basis of money-exchange relationships must affect the interests of the social groups directly associated with the management apparatus and encourage a certain greater autonomy with regard to the interests of the labor collectives within the system of social interests. Significant shifts are also taking place in society's social structure. The social groups based at various level and sectors of the economy are beginning to recognize to a greater degree that they are the bearers of stable interests. As a result, in the ideological sphere, there is an inevitable hardening of a multitude of opinions, including those concerning ways for further development. In other words, socialist pluralism of opinion is taking shape not only in connection with the re-examination of the history of our society and not only in connection with the development of glasnost. Objective grounds exist for socialist pluralism of opinion, which include the differences persisting in the economic position of the various population groups, and even more in the greater socioeconomic differentiation in society, inevitable (and also necessary) during the stage of perestroika, and in principle as the first phase of the communist socioeconomic order, immanent in socialism.

Historical experience has convincingly shown that attempts to "overcome" this differentiation by means of statization of the economy and the administrative-command method in management have led only to the other extreme, namely, to identifying state property and public property, and as a result, to leveling. In turn, this latter circumstance has signified depersonification of the subject of ownership and the alienation of the worker from it.

The new ideological situation is taking shape in close association with the unfolding of the democratization of society. The concept of perestroika of the political system, as formulated by M.S. Gorbachev at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, constitutes a significant contribution to this process. Democratization of socialist society is a qualitative and profound process that is radically altering the very method of self-development. The administrative-command method of leadership established initially in the economy and later spreading to the superstructure, has essentially assumed the mission of representing the interests of the various social groups. The idea has been established that particular groups and strata in society, including regional and national groups and strata, express only, as it were, their "own" interests while the spokesman for the common national interests is a "center" that in fact more than anything else has expressed the interests of a self-sufficing bureaucratic apparatus. Here, the indisputable fact that under the conditions of socialism triumphant the social groups' and classes' own interests involve a major factor in the general national interests has been pushed into the shade. Today democratization is aimed at "revealing" the interests of all groups in society and at their accumulation and consideration in actual policy.

The fundamental novelty and unusual nature of the situation in society results also from the fact that an examination of many of the pages of the country's history, condemnation of the cult of personality, and criticism of negative phenomena are essentially affecting many stereotypes of thinking. The very formulation of the question of the need to purge the ideals of socialism, and of the relationship between the objective and subjective factors that made possible the very deformations and violations of socialist norms, has led to a situation in which issues that were just recently considered immovable and not amenable to dispute, among which the most important is attitudes toward socialism, have now become points for discussion.

The party has laid out in a clear-cut way its position with regard to the essential foundations of socialism and the deformations that are not inherent in this system but were the result of subjective factors and the limitation of socialism's democratic potentialities.

Under these conditions, criticism of the deformations of socialism has been taken by certain groups as a signal to criticize socialism. This circumstance has significantly enlarged the spectrum of ideological perceptions, among which we may distinguish extreme positions—from extreme dogmatism and the desire to change nothing, to a complete re-examination of all the principles of socialism and its de-ideologization.

Thus, the scale and depth, and as can now be seen, the irreversibility of the transformations that have taken place, whose essential nature has one way or another affected the interests of all groups in society, have been the objective basis for the new situation in the ideological sphere that has taken shape today and that requires qualitative renewal of all ideological work.

And now, as at no other time, Soviet sociology needs a revolutionary renewal of its own ideas. Developing as it has in difficult conditions (with reference to the Sixties through the Eighties), it has noticeably lagged behind the demands of the times and analysis of many acute problems in Soviet society.

Defending the thesis that developed socialism society needs improvement in individual of its aspects has led to a situation in which large-scale studies of social contradictions and social deviations—nationalism, bureaucracy, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution and so forth—have been almost excluded.

The most important question in Marxist sociology—alienation of the individual—has been overlooked by both theoreticians and applications people. It has been understood from the purely scientific standpoint—given the dominance of dogmatism, the question of alienation under socialism has been depicted as something artificial. The situation, however, has become more complex since under the influence of primitive notions about the tasks of the ideological struggle, alienation has been

regarded as something inherent only in capitalism. Moreover, it has been depicted as one of the main contradictions under capitalism, and, this means, would be unable to exist or be studied in any form under socialism.

And this at a time when the growing divergence between everyday reality and the lofty principles of socialism proclaimed as goals has become particularly noticeable!

Much effort has been expended in studying the interrelationship in the "man-society" system, proceeding from the credo that "a person is the product of the system." Interpreting in a rectilinear and oversimplified way the Marxist position on the role of the social environment, we have essentially moved the emphasis onto study of the effect of various systems on the individual rather than on the influence of personal activity on the system. While studying public opinion, for example, or conducting a regular poll, and then averaging the indexes and offering recommendations to leaders, we have sometimes forgotten that the main thing is to reveal individuality and the creative opportunities available to the individual. And the social environment should create the best conditions for this.

This simple truth for any task in sociological studies has often been presented simply in our recommendations: the need has been shown to create new organizational structures, increase funding, introduce new standard units. Now, when Soviet society faces the need to activate the human factor, is it not worth moving on to another, essentially new path under today's conditions, namely, sharply reducing the norms and prescriptions that hold back the working man, and radically re-examining the function and role of the enormous management apparatus?

Soviet sociology finds itself at a unique crossroads. The first essential step for us must be to engage in a truly scientific analysis of the social environment and a study of the objective reality.

In this connection the following question arises: does this formulation of the problem not contain a disguised rejection of sociology's ideological function? The answer is unambiguously in the negative. In this case it is a question of shifting the emphasis from one function (the ideological one) to analytical (cognitive) and practical (recommendatory) functions. It goes without saying that the essential nature of the problem lies not only in the change of emphasis.

We must essentially restore the objective, scientific analysis of reality that is typical of Marxism-Leninism. For this, what is needed first and foremost is to overcome the indifference shown toward the acute problems of our reality. This also includes taking stock of our scientific

groundwork for the purpose of resolving an unpleasant doubt, namely, do our research methodology, methods and techniques correspond to the level of development in world sociology?

The most significant thing in the perestroyka of ideology is searching for new ideas (based on Marxism-Leninism) and decisively overcoming dogmatism.

Soviet sociology is not being developed in a vacuum. Serious scientific groundwork has been laid and the Soviet Sociological Association and its branches, the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute, the USSR Academy of Sciences Social Economic Problems Institute and other sociological centers are functioning. A sociological journal is published. Notwithstanding, sociological science, despite certain successes (studies of public opinion, serious problems in deviant behavior and so forth), has been "put on hold." Dealing with the situation that has taken shape is the most important task for all the main organizations in Soviet sociology. In this connection there should be a re-interpretation, and if necessary, many of our research concepts should be re-examined from the standpoint of their alignment with urgent, major problems in the development of socialist society under the conditions of perestroyka.

The practical function of sociology is to liberate the social potential of Soviet society and of each Soviet person. We must assess our research anew from this standpoint.

The ideological support for perestroyka is one purpose of the printed organ of Soviet sociologists—the journal *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA*. Here, despite its certain contribution, there are many unresolved questions. The chief of these is the effect on perestroyka in the field of social policy, the democratization of social life, and the radical economic reform. In particular, it is necessary to assess anew and realistically the present status of the social sphere and the population's social expectations. Work is also needed on particular key issues.

The editorial office and editorial board plans to conduct a debate in the journal on the "sore points" in social policy. In short, the tasks are great. In order to resolve them it is essential to raise the professional level of work and extend the range of authors.

What we lack is sharp debate on the most urgent problems in sociology. Thus, for example, the paths along which sociology should be developed, the problem of priorities in social policy, and so forth. What is needed is not the run-of-the-mill scientific articles and comments but debate on alternative positions and concepts!

Ideological support for perestroyka has become a very urgent task for the party under present-day conditions. It is precisely re-orientation of thinking in questions of principles that is the condition for and an integral part of perestroyka and is associated with enormous difficulties.

Soviet sociologists are operating under new conditions: expectations are rising and hence society's demands. Criticism is also on the increase; this is quite natural. Whereas previously the development of sociology was artificially held back, a qualitatively new situation has now been created. We must all seize the moment.

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**The Owners of Private Subsidiary Farms:
Typology and Way of Life**

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ISSLEDOVANIYA* in Russian

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Article by Vadim Borisovich Samsonov, candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems in Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex (Saratov); this is the author's first appearance in *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA*

[Text] There are some 47 million to 48 million private subsidiary farms in the country. They provide a major addition for the national table. Today, enhancing the economic role of private subsidiary farms is inseparable from their development as a social institution. A healthy private farming community is the basis of renewal in the countryside and of the lost traditions of peasant life, and in returning the land to its master. It is a most important means for reviving the economy in the countryside and its links with the city, and for the democratization of all social life in the countryside. This is precisely how the question has been posed in recent party and state decisions and in the documents of the kolkhoz farmers' congress.

At the same time private subsidiary farming is a complex and internally differentiated institution. In order to pursue an effective socioeconomic policy it is necessary to know about the structure of private subsidiary farming, particularly the way of life and needs and interests of the owners. We shall review these problems using material from empirical studies.

During 1984 and 1985 the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems in the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex conducted a study of owners of private subsidiary farms (600 persons) in three rural rayons of Saratov Oblast, namely, Balakovskiy, Krasnokutskiy and Yekaterinovskiy rayons. These rayons differ in terms of degree of agro-industrial integration and urbanization. In each rayon, groups of villages and of kolkhozes and sovkhoses were selected,

typical of the population in terms of numerical strength, social-class composition and occupational structure. The sample included all categories of owners of private subsidiary farms: kolkhoz farmers, workers and employees in other sectors of the national economy working private plots, and also members of the horticultural associations and collectives of truck farmers. In terms of this parameter the sample reflects the general situation in rural regions of the Povolzhye. One other preliminary remark should be made: studies have shown that the overwhelming majority of owners of private subsidiary farms do not want to, and indeed sometimes cannot, convert them into a main source of income. This is true of the labor of family members in the public sector. But in addition, within the region there are quite a few people who have hotbeds, hothouses or greenhouses on their private subsidiary farms. Their main effort is spent to grow vegetables, fruit or flowers for sale. In such cases incomes amount to R10,000 to R15,000 or even more. In the opinion of the author, these people form a special stratum—unique kinds of one-man peasant businesses. These kinds of owners of private subsidiary farms were not included in the aggregate sample.

The Structure of Private Subsidiary Farms

Analysis has shown that the following factors play a major role in differentiating the owners of private subsidiary farms: age, or more accurately, affiliation with a particular generation. This largely determines the forms and rhythm of the family's life activities. Likewise the aggregate monetary income. According to our calculations, the average income per family member is R96 per month. This indicator, and also affiliation with one of the three main age groups were selected as criteria for

establishing the typology. Combining these attributes resulted in the formation of six income-age groups (see table 1 below).

Table 1. Grouping of Owners of Private Subsidiary Farms as a Function of Age and Per Capita Income for the Family Members (proportion of group in aggregate of those polled, %)

Level of per Capita Income	Age Group		
	18-29	30-44	45 and older
Below average	18.3 (I)	23.9 (III)	15.1 (V)
Above average	10.9 (II)	12.4 (IV)	19.4 (VI)

By what were we guided in choosing this route? We proceeded from the premise that because of a certain stability of socioeconomic conditions in the way of life, over the span of each one or two decades each generation (age group) largely retains an unchanged motivation for and degree of activity in engaging in private subsidiary farming. What changes there are are associated first and foremost with the transition of the generation to a new stage in its development. This is also confirmed by data on the family and material situation of the generation of those polled, as shown in table 2. Of course, significant intragenerational differences exist. The size of the family is reflected directly in per capita income, including that part of the family engaged in private subsidiary farming. Thus, within the confines of the same age group, families with incomes above the average gain 1.5 times to twice as much from the sale of home-grown produce than to families with below average incomes.

Table 2. Family and Material Situation of Various Groups of Owners of Private Subsidiary Farms

Features	Groups					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Average numerical strength of family	4.1	3.2	4.4	3.2	4.1	2.5
Average number of children in family	1.5	0.6	2.2	1.2	1.7	0.5
Per capita monthly income for family members, rubles	60.7	126.6	62.3	139.1	58.9	129.6
Including income from private subsidiary farming	7.1	14.9	12.2	18.4	11.1	24.3

Territorial factors exert a significant effect on the nature of private subsidiary farming. These differences are sometimes more important than the social-class features of the subjects—a fact repeatedly confirmed by sociologists. In our case it was also established that in terms of activity on their subsidiary farming plots and motives for selling the produce the owners of private subsidiary farms belonging to the various social groups (for example, kolkhoz farmers and workers in state enterprises) often differ less than representatives of the same class but living in different kinds of villages either close to a city or in remote localities, and whether the villages are large or small. We distinguished three types of village, namely, urbanized villages (large villages near cities with good road and transport facilities with a regional center like the major

industrial city of Balakovo), slightly urbanized villages (large villages with a noticeable population outflow and remote from the regional center—the small city of Krasnyy Kut), and unurbanized villages (small villages located, as they say, out in the boondocks). Geographical location is important not only in and of itself. It largely determines the emphasis in production on the private subsidiary farms and their links with the market. Three groups are also distinguished from this viewpoint: 1) private subsidiary farms with mainly production for sale (at market); 2) private subsidiary farms where produce is grown under the terms of contracts with a kolkhoz or sovkhoz as part of their plan fulfillment; 3) private subsidiary farms oriented on family consumption. Results from combining these attributes are presented in table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Private Subsidiary Farms as a Function of Production Emphasis and Type of Settlement, %
Type of production at private subsidiary farm

	Village		
	urbanized	slightly urbanized	nonurbanized
Predominantly for sale (at market)	13.5	15.0	17.4
Work under contract with a farm	25.1	31.1	47.7
Subsistence (for family needs)	61.4	53.9	34.9

What catches one's attention here? The more urbanized the settlement the greater the proportion of private subsidiary farms with predominantly subsistence type production and the smaller the proportion of the other two groups (even though the immediate thought would be the opposite). Why is this? Evidently for the inhabitants of urbanized villages the main source of income is labor in the public sector. There is obviously also some effect from the restrictions on personal initiative that existed in those years and whose force was proportional to the distance away from the local authorities. Finally, in contrast to the very remote localities, in the regional centers it was possible to buy at least some products. In short, compared to nonurbanized villages, in the urbanized villages the owner of a moderately sized private subsidiary farm works an area 1.6 times smaller and maintains 1.4 times less cattle, and monetary income from his private subsidiary farm is 1.5 times lower. Some 40.7 percent of the inhabitants of urbanized villages

polled acquire produce from fellow villagers for money or by barter, and also in rural stores (41.8 percent) and in the urban kolkhoz market (31.1 percent), while in nonurbanized villages the corresponding figures are 19.1 percent, 24.5 percent and 21.1 percent.

Motives and Interests

Material conditions are refracted in the motives for engaging in private subsidiary farming, which also acts as an important group-forming factor. As was to be expected, judging from self-assessments, first place was occupied by the idea of providing one's own family with foodstuffs and deriving additional income (see table 4). At the same time, when evaluating this circumstance it is essential to bear in mind the following. In reality, the primary orientation is seen in different ways in the groups considered. Husband-and-wife teams with one or two small children, which have only recently acquired a private subsidiary farm are more likely than other inhabitants of a village to try to acquire produce at a kolkhoz or sovkhaz (27.0 percent of those polled in group I) and in stores in the regional center (33.3 percent) or to rely on help from their parents (39.6 percent). Many families with a high material adequacy and, as a rule, well developed private subsidiary farms nevertheless are oriented on dealing in the regional center, first and foremost at the kolkhoz market (41.7 percent of those polled in group IV). But representatives of the older age group with low monetary incomes leading and less mobile and domestic way of life prefer barter with fellow villagers (48.6 percent in group V).

Table 4. Motives for Engaging in Private Subsidiary Farming, as a Percentage of Those Responding Within a Group (a respondent may hold several positions)

Motives	Income-Age Group					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
To provide food for own family	93.8	92.3	94.7	88.9	100.0	89.7
To increase monetary income for family	37.5	15.4	46.1	58.3	37.8	37.9
To instill in children a love of labor and nature	22.9	11.5	25.0	16.7	—	13.8
To help society and the state	—	23.1	17.1	19.4	13.5	—
To provide material assistance for relatives in the city	—	11.5	—	19.4	13.5	20.7

Thus, a significant proportion of rural inhabitants who regard private subsidiary farming as a means for providing food for their families in fact do not and cannot reach this situation. From 17.2 percent to 36.1 percent of those polled (depending on the group) do not keep cows on their private subsidiary farms, from 20.7 percent to 40.5 percent have no hogs, and from 43.0 percent to 66.7 percent have no sheep. Livestock are found least often on farms managed by a young or middle-aged married couples team with high monetary incomes (groups II and IV). Of course, private subsidiary farming is a troublesome business (we shall deal with this later). The owner must be helped first and foremost with fodder, small-scale means of mechanization and a well-established market for the sale of output. The main hindrance, however, is the long-time policy of restricting private subsidiary farming as a "private-ownership" institution.

For many of those polled private subsidiary farming is a source of additional income. It is particularly important for those 10 percent to 25 percent of respondents (depending on the group) who, as they say, live from payday to payday. How did those polled want to spend the extra money? One-third of families plan to acquire good furniture, a television set, china, carpets and other durables. From one-half to one-third of respondents would purchase necessities—clothing, footwear and so forth. Many representatives of the older generation put aside the money that they obtain for weddings of children and grandchildren and for other family celebrations (group VI) or for repairs and improvements on their home (group V). We see that the "monetary" motives for engaging in private subsidiary farming promote increased economic activity by the owners and consolidate the material foundations of the rural way of life.

Other motives for engaging in private subsidiary farming (see table 4) are also of major social importance. We note one significant circumstance. One family in five from group VI helps adult children and other relatives with privately grown produce. But young group I families with a recently acquired private subsidiary farm themselves need help from their relatives. Accordingly, these representatives of the rural population will hardly sell produce from the private subsidiary farms in the market or sell to kolkhozes or consumer cooperatives. This does not mean that these kinds of owners of private subsidiary farms should not be helped. Their private plots are important socially. With respect to produce grown for commercial purposes, the main suppliers are representatives from groups II through V.

Table 5. Degree of Help Given from Relatives to Owners of Private Subsidiary Farms as a Function of Type of Settlement, percentage of those polled

Relatives living...	Villages		
	urbanized	slightly urbanized	non-urbanized
in the city help sometimes	23.1	13.1	28.7
help all the time	8.8	1.1	1.1
in the countryside help sometimes	11.0	19.1	20.2
help all the time	6.6	11.2	19.1

Private subsidiary farming is a major means of maintaining family and kinship ties and the traditions of rural

mutual help; which must strengthen collectivism in public life. Some 18.7 percent of middle-aged and older rural dwellers with high per capita incomes polled in the urbanized villages help their children living in the city with food and money; the figure for the nonurbanized villages is 10.6 percent. In turn city dwellers can often be seen working on their parents' private plots, again more often in the urbanized villages. Quite close family and kinship ties also exist in the countryside itself. One subject of special concern is children separately from their parents. As a rule the latter work large private subsidiary farms for this. In addition, about half of young married couples help brothers and sisters living in the regional center or some other city (see table 5 above).

Way of Life

The organization of labor on private subsidiary farms is economical in the sense that "there are no nonproductive expenditures of time spent commuting to and from work, nor stoppages or loss of working time. Natural breaks in the fulfillment of particular tasks are used for domestic chores or for leisure and do not constitute part of working time"¹ At the same time, whereas work in a truck garden or looking after livestock does not take much time compared to, for example, doing housework, it does require considerable physical effort. This all leaves a deep impression on the way of life among the rural population. It varies considerably depending on the affiliation of the owner of the private subsidiary farm to any given income-age group (see table 6).

Table 6. Structure of Use of Time on Various Kinds of Activity (M = married men, W = married women, % of those responding)*

Kind of activity	Income-Age Group					
	I		II		III	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Labor on private subsidiary farm	83.9	80.0	70.0	66.7	83.6	88.8
Preparing meals	1.8	74.3	—	76.2	1.8	73.8
Housework	3.6	77.1	—	76.2	1.8	66.3
Caring for children	32.1	85.7	30.0	66.7	23.6	71.3
Making improvements to home and surroundings	64.3	28.6	60.0	33.3	61.8	35.0
Organizing fuel and home heating	69.6	34.3	50.0	42.9	69.1	43.8
Purchasing:						
produce	12.5	42.9	—	23.8	3.6	35.0
household goods	7.1	11.4	—	14.3	1.8	15.0

Kind of activity	Income-Age Group					
	IV		V		VI	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Labor on private subsidiary farm	66.7	93.5	88.1	91.4	81.3	86.5
Preparing meals	16.7	74.2	4.8	54.3	4.2	59.6
Housework	10.0	77.4	7.1	51.4	6.2	67.3
Caring for children	23.3	45.2	9.8	22.9	2.1	13.5
Making improvements to home and surroundings	56.7	29.0	64.3	22.9	52.1	32.7

Table 6. Structure of Use of Time on Various Kinds of Activity (M = married men, W = married women, % of those responding)*

	Income-Age Group					
	40.0	16.1	61.9	45.7	58.3	40.4
Organizing fuel and home heating	40.0	16.1	61.9	45.7	58.3	40.4
Purchasing:						
produce	10.0	25.8	4.8	31.4	6.2	17.3
household goods	10.0	19.4	4.8	17.1	6.2	9.6

*Respondents assessed time spent on a 3-point scale: "a great deal of time," "little time" and "no time at all." Responses from respondents rating themselves in the first category are noted in the table.

Young married couples in income-age group I concentrate mainly on raising their children (three-fourths of the group are couples with one or two young children), managing a private subsidiary farm and handling family affairs that have not yet been firmly established. The young wife, always short of time, does a great deal of work in the home and in purchasing produce, while the husband deals with improvements about the home and surroundings and organizes the provision of fuel. Within the system of value orientation, children, leisure in the family circle and education occupy important places. Passive leisure and visiting and receiving guests are less popular. In general the way of life is distinguished by activity and stepped-up rhythm. With the support of the kolkhoz (or sovkhoz) young married couples may spend several years working on their private subsidiary farm before it is brought up to the level that provides for the family's main requirements for foodstuffs.

Group II is dominated by young married couples without children, and also young men and women who are single and living with their parents; per capita incomes for the family are higher than the average. The way of life for representatives of this group is less dynamic and stressful, and less attention is paid to private subsidiary farming. The husbands are not engaged in domestic affairs as actively as those in group I. The wives are also not so busy, but one in two does not have enough time to work both in the home and on a private subsidiary farm. Couples are oriented mainly on making improvements to their homes, going to the cinema or dancing, evenings of leisure and visiting. The largest number of hunters and anglers is found among the men of this group. The wives try to spend time in the family circle or watching television, listening to the radio or reading. Only one-third of married men rated work in public farming as very important, and only one-tenth thought that this was true of private subsidiary farming (in group I the corresponding figures were 42.9 percent and 23.2 percent respectively). In general, the group is relatively passive both in the production sphere and in domestic matters. It is oriented on leisure.

Middle-aged married couples with relatively high per capita incomes (group IV) are oriented most on labor both in public farming and in private subsidiary farming. This circumstance is combined with activity in the spheres of life activity. Three-fourths of the group consists of families with one or two children. The husbands

often engage in what are traditionally the wives' domestic matters. Notwithstanding, the wives carry the main burden of domestic responsibilities. One third of families possess a car or motorcycle (the highest indicator in the sample) and one-fourth are making preparations to acquire a vehicle. This facilitates the sale of produce from private subsidiary farms, acquisition of fuel and completion of other domestic and household tasks. Representatives of this group spend their leisure time in various ways (leisure within the family circle is combined with hunting and fishing, educational improvement and so forth). This group may be considered the most socially active part of the rural population.

Representatives of similar age in group III are noticeably behind in this regard; typically they have relatively low per capita incomes and smaller private subsidiary farms. Three-fourths of the group consist of families with two or three children. Nevertheless, the impression is not created that these respondents are overloaded with domestic and everyday affairs. Assessments of the importance of labor in public and private farming and indicators for rhythm of life activity and structure of values lean toward the average for the sample.

Group V is made up of representatives of the older generation with below average per capita incomes. Married women devote more efforts to their private subsidiary farms and to work in the home. The women are also always busy. Some of the preparation of meals and housework is done by daughters-in-law. Respondents do not regard cares as a burden but normal and usual. Representatives of this group rarely watch television or listen to the radio, read or go to clubs or out visiting. Leisure is passive in nature. In general these respondents lead a quite isolated way of life in which household affairs take first place.

Group VI consists mainly of old people. Accordingly, they engage in domestic and everyday affairs as they are able. Much time is spent in leisure. Forms of leisure vary but it is mainly passive in nature.

Trends and Prospects

What can be said of the development of private subsidiary farming and its role in the life activity of the rural population? The so-called private-ownership aspirations are not widespread. It is something else that gives rise to misgivings: a significant proportion of young people (mainly from group II) show no interest in labor either in public or private farming. For these young people (particularly the men), consumerist attitudes and the desire

to spend their time idly are typical. Evidently the influence of by no means the best features of city life and the departure of peasants from the countryside is being felt. It is noteworthy that two-thirds of the representatives of this group were born and brought up in the countryside. The rural way of life is simply not to the liking of many of them. Evidently, when they have families and children some young people in this group start to look at life differently and feel an attraction for the land. Local soviets and kolkhozes and sovkhoses must help to increase the numbers of such people by helping them to acquire farming plots.

The greatest return from private subsidiary farms can be expected from groups III and IV. Private subsidiary farming by representatives of group III will evidently increase when the children of the families (and many of them have many children) grow up more and become actively involved in domestic and household activities. At the same time, concern for them is an important incentive for developing private subsidiary farming. The active way of life among representatives in group IV will also make it possible in the future to hope for a high return from private subsidiary farms.

The responses of rural dwellers concerning prospects for engaging in private subsidiary farming during the next 5 years and beyond confirm and concretize these assumptions. We note first and foremost that with age, ideas about the future become more defined. In almost all groups the thought of maintaining private subsidiary farms dominates. The one exception is some of the owners of private subsidiary farms used mainly for subsistence purposes (groups I and VI): more than 40 percent of respondents intend at some time in the future to reduce the amount of farming done. Only individual people expressed the desire to abandon private subsidiary farming totally in the years immediately ahead. As for the longer term prospects, some people, particularly in group IV, where the high family income is based on active labor in public farming, think that they will curtail their activities. In any event, there is virtually no desire to expand private subsidiary farming at some time in the future. This ill-defined position is typical of many rural dwellers. Only one thing can be said with certainty: the desire to expand private subsidiary farming is usually expressed by people with modest incomes; the desire to eliminate it is expressed by people with high incomes.

Thus, among a majority of the rural population interest in engaging in private subsidiary farming is retained. However, it is differentiated as a function of the social and material position of the owners. While noting the assistance given to them it is important to bear in mind that in work on private subsidiary farms it is not only the desire to earn more that motivates the peasants. Private subsidiary farming is an important element in the rural way of life, and its difficulties and values can by no means always be measured in rubles. The by no means fully utilized commercial possibilities of private subsidiary farming should also be considered from this standpoint.

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Socioeconomic Potential of Individual Labor 18060002c Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian

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[Article by Konstantin Alekseyevich Ulybin, candidate of economic sciences, chief of the department of political economy at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Moscow Higher Militia School; has authored the books "Ekonomika selskogo khozyaystva" [The Economics of Agriculture (1984, as co-author), "Sovremennoye ekonomicheskoye myshleniye" [Contemporary Thinking in Economics] (1986) and "Ekonomicheskoye myshleniye i perestroyka" [The Thinking in Economics and Perestroika] (1987); the article "Money-Exchange Relationships: To Eliminate Them Artificially or Use Them Skillfully?" has been published in this journal (No 4, 1984)]

[Text] Abrupt changes in social development mercilessly expose the complexity of many social ideas. Just yesterday it seemed that under socialism there is no place for the "private worker" and that he would remain forever a thing of the past. Real life, however, is grist for the dramatist, who constantly refines and sometimes even re-writes his work. Today the individual is a real personage in the proscenium of our economy.

Has It Been a Successful Debut?

Two years have elapsed since the day that the law on individual labor activity came into force. And today there is every justification for posing the following question: has it been a successful debut?

Various, extremely contradictory assessments are being made. In the diversity of opinion three circumstances put us on the alert. The first is the desire to give unambiguous and categorical answers to all questions. The second is hastiness and emotionality in assessments. The third is the arbitrariness and sometimes even contradictoriness of approaches. Some view the "private worker" through rose-tinted spectacles, others through dark glasses.

When analyzing the preliminary results of individual labor activity, we also emphasize another circumstance. In just a few months the number of those engaged in individual labor activity has almost quadrupled. In the first quarter of 1988 about 400,000 citizens were engaged in individual labor activity.² A major first step

has undoubtedly been taken. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for victory celebrations. Due consideration must be given to the fact that the reading is barely above zero. Second, 400,000 is still a very small number for a country like the USSR. We have more than 60 million people alone who are pensioners. People are still in no rush to test themselves in a new economic capacity. This circumstance deserves attention, because initially there were misgivings about something different. So what is hampering us from a display of initiative? Bans and restrictions? The inability or reluctance to act?

Individuals try to produce fashionable products that meet the most demanding tastes and yet there are many goods in the market that are the same, nothing out of the ordinary, often of poor quality and sometimes even fakes. Prices have started to fall for many articles but levels remain high.

It would seem that there are weighty objective reasons that would in general provide a positive assessment of the changes taking place in individual labor activity. But, paradoxical as it is, in reality we meet quite a different perception.

Why Is the Applause Dying Down?

There has recently been a significant increase in the number of people having a negative attitude toward individuals working for themselves. Sociological polls have shown that during the period of preparations for the law on individual labor activity about 7 percent to 10 percent of respondents usually expressed themselves against the new reform in business life. The picture has now noticeably changed. Now from one-third to one-half of those polled often speak out categorically against individuals working for themselves.³ Like an opera in Milan, the applause is changing to whistles. But feelings are an enigmatic phenomenon. When they seem to be repudiated we are consumed with an excess of them.

The increased negative attitude toward the "private worker" is a very alarming phenomenon. It is easy to go back to an earlier circle. But are we not digressing in this sector of the economy from the new, unusual and complicated but essential course toward perestroika?

The disillusionment is largely the result of the negative circumstances that arose along with the "private worker." Nothing can be done without scum and lather. And here there also appeared the speculators, grabbers and scoundgers who derive substantial unearned incomes for themselves. They cause justified indignation, which little by little is being transferred to the individual sector as a whole. But this is delusion. The overwhelming majority of individual workers are honest people. Unfortunately, theft also occurs at state enterprises. It is obviously have done with violations and at the same time intensify the struggle against of the law, using legal means.

The negative attitude toward the "private worker" is also explained by a number of other important reasons. It is associated largely with the excessive expectations and illusions that initially arose about him. The press has also made its contribution here. As often happens, support for a new and useful initiative often becomes idealization. The public consciousness is eager to accept pleasant promises and awaits their fulfillment with impatience. And this is what happened with individual work. It seemed that it would immediately provide us with fashionable, inexpensive goods and services. Its image was embellished and possibly to some extent mystified. But practice has shown that it is by no means able to do everything, that it still cannot do many things, and that it does not always offer culture, full measure, tact or sense of initiative. This is its misfortune rather than its fault. And here it is important to clarify with all possible exactness that for the "private worker" both euphoric optimism and prohibitive pessimism are equally fatal. It is also important to note this circumstance. The individual sector is still essentially very young.

The negative attitude toward the individual worker is often built on a suspicion of superhigh incomes. Few, however, know accurately what they are. People usually make suggestions based on intuition. Would a "private worker" bother to open up a business if it did not hold out some promise? But on the other hand, why would someone who throws stones into an individual garden plot not himself try to grow vegetables? Or is it that there is no desire to obtain a little more?

There is more. The incomes of the individual workers depend on us ourselves. And if something displeases us, then no one is forcing us to buy it. But if we put our own "sweat and blood" into something, we recognize that the expenditure is justified. But then let us be consistent and recognize that their incomes are permissible.

If we take a close look at the individual worker it turns out that he is getting nothing at all—large or small. Not a ruble. He merely works for everything he gets. And this distinguishes him from many of us. The sphere of individual labor activity is a field of real cost-accounting relations at a time when budget, administrative and redistribution relations dominate in the state sector. Workers really most often obtain their incomes at enterprises. Maybe the amount is greater or less, and perhaps it is justifiably little.

To accuse the individual worker (we are not talking about speculators and sharp dealers) of high incomes is the result of a leveling psychology. Its negative influence was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. M.S. Gorbachev noted that "we must seriously address the problem of eradicating leveling approaches... Essentially leveling exerts a destructive influence not only on the economy but also on morale and on the entire way of thinking; it is a reflection of petty bourgeois views that have nothing in common with

Marxism-Leninism or scientific socialism. And we shall not move ahead or cope with the tasks of perestroika if we do not rake out every last remnant of leveling views wherever they are still preserved."¹

In this connection special importance attaches to the task of overcoming the idea widely accepted in the public consciousness that equates the high incomes of individual workers with unearned incomes. The fact is that in and of themselves income levels are not a criterion of fairness. Income can be high but earned or it may be low and insignificant but still unearned. In our society the struggle against unearned incomes has often been replaced with a struggle against high incomes, and it is from this that businesslike, enterprising, highly skilled workers who are extremely useful to society have suffered. Relapses of this kind are encountered today in individual-labor and cooperative activity when the flow of income is virtually halted because of payments for a patent or the imposition of taxes.

It is, of course, essential to fight against unearned incomes, and particularly very high unearned incomes. At the same time, however, we must not confuse high incomes with unearned incomes. But this is not all. According to our evaluations, most unearned incomes in the country are made up of incomes derived by members of society in moderate or small amounts. This applies first and foremost to petty theft and unearned monies that people receive merely for showing up at work; or money over and above work actually done, or for output that fails to meet society's requirements.

It is also impossible to take wages within the national economy as a standard for the earned incomes of individual workers and members of cooperatives. The fact is that their labor productivity is from double to quadruple the level among corresponding workers in the state sector. So wages should be correspondingly higher. But this is not all there is to it. In state organizations wages are very often formed on the basis of labor input, and because of this the quality and utility of output, demand for that output and so forth are not properly considered. But the incomes of individual workers and of cooperatives depend largely precisely on those factors. Outwardly, this part of income for individual workers appears in a market form and is often assessed by laymen as unearned income. Meanwhile, normal, nonspeculative market incomes are essentially earned incomes. And if an individual worker's income is high then this is thanks to his high level of skill and initiative. And here he deserves approval, not reproach.

The negative perception of the "private worker" is sometimes the result of failure to understand that a deepening income differentiation in no way means greater social injustice. Development of the individual and cooperative sector will inevitably lead to a certain differentiation in incomes. This is why it is apropos to note that it is pity that income differentiation is still so small. For many people do different kinds of work and

receive almost the same income. There is no justice here. It is a crying violation of it. This kind of situation thins the ranks of the energetic and enterprising and increases the legions of those with little initiative. It is impossible to rouse the economic activity of the population without increasing income differentiation. Note the following remarkable circumstance. When we start to work at full strength we quickly find that differentiation in living standards decreases. Strange as it may be, the desired result can be achieved by much of what we oppose, the logic of economic development notwithstanding.

Our antipathy toward the individual worker is a direct reflection of the high prices for his product. We often reproach him about these deliberate increases, saying that his income is obtained by happy chance. As a result the idea is created that he is an adventurer. In this connection it is apropos to emphasize that such arguments and reproaches are unjustified and are aimed at the ignorant. Life forces the individual worker strictly to observe the objective economic laws. He really does produce what the market and the consumer need. Why say that the opposite is the norm? Just to reproach the "private worker"? But this is nothing more than sleight of hand. He does not deserve the reproach—others do.

To continue. There is no randomness in the market. Everything there follows a law-governed pattern. Consumption, the laws of value, supply and demand are what rule there. Randomness occurs only for those who ignore the market or do not know it. The individual worker cannot allow himself this. Otherwise he will immediately go bankrupt.

Of course, for many people the prices asked by individual workers are still high. Some take issue with this. But let us be objective. The will of the "private worker" has nothing to do with this. Prices are dictated by the market, supply and demand, the consumer qualities of products and their availability in state trade. Should the "private worker" be blamed for this? Are we not shifting our own problems and omissions onto his shoulders? There is food for thought here.

Many are also unsympathetic toward the individual worker because he is looking out for his own profit and has a personal interest in it. Because of this he is often said to be an amoral character. A well-known situation: when there are no arguments the dispute moves onto the moral plane.

Of course the individual worker is no altruist. He really does have a personal interest. He wants to live well and this is why he goes into business. What is amoral about this? All social subjects have interests—you, me, the collectives, society. And the overwhelming majority of us do not work out of altruistic considerations.

The individual worker is also often reproached for the fact that, they say, while watching out for his personal interest he is infringing upon the public interest. But this,

too, is totally untrue. In order to obtain his income he must produce what people need, and he pays part of his income to society in the form of taxes. So it turns out that the individual worker is the bearer of both personal and public interests at the same time.

Many dislike the "individual worker" because he is a special economic type of individual—active, persistent, prudent. He makes no secret of the fact that he wants to live well. Moreover, he demonstrates that in order to do this it is necessary to work, investigate, think, test, make mistakes, and not stand still and never wait for manna from heaven. Is not this style of behavior to the liking of many of us? Unfortunately, no. We still have the ingrained habit of a better life without working, by obtaining it from the state.

The facts are obvious. These "private workers" are disquieting people. They open up photographic studios and hairdressing salons, offer carriage haulage services, sew fashionable clothing; yesterday they were doing one thing, today they are doing another, and all the time they strive to outstrip us. Moreover, they are so pushy that for some it is simply impossible to work with them. In short, the individual worker is an inconvenient figure: he upsets the even tenor of life and involves us all in new and extremely committed economic relations.

Only Forward

In this business it is dangerous to stop halfway. There are and there will be problems and contradictions in the development of the individual sector. But should we be timid in facing them? Or even more fear the issue "as if it did not exist"? Practice prompts only one method of solving them, namely, overcoming them through energetic movement ahead. And here it is very important to recognize that the individual sector is capable of and is called upon to play an extremely important role in the development of socialism. It must not be regarded as something secondary, temporary or transitional. Development of the individual sector results from the objective progress of production forces. It is impermissible here to see only one side, namely socialization. This one-dimensional view leads to absolutization of national forms of production and state ownership and underestimation of cooperative and individual forms of activity and appropriation. And it is not possible, as previously, to associate them only with a poorly developed level of production forces. Judging from the experience of the industrially developed countries, the present-day scientific and technical revolution opens up broad scope for them. Of course, the individual will never replace public production. But he can be an active assistant. According to our assessments, some 30 million to 40 million people are capable of participating in this sector. It can provide society with goods and services worth something on the order of R100 billion. But now, in a best case scenario only one-tenth of this potential is being realized.

It is just as essential for us to overcome finally the outdated view of the "private worker" as a someone from another social planet. It is absurd to regard our "private worker" as a capitalist and consider him alien to socialism, because from 16 million to 18 million people in our country are engaged in some form of individual activity.⁴ If we consider the individual worker (without the quote marks), then there has been a class with an antisocialist emphasis in our society for a long time.

Understanding the socialist nature of individual labor and appropriation is hampered by the stereotype of equating all individual labor with private labor. It is therefore important to note that by no means all individual labor is capitalist, while socialist labor is not only social labor. Normal individual activity is aimed at satisfying social demands and its subject is equally Soviet people who are the owners of the national means. Because of this the personal interests of the individual cannot be in opposition to social interests. Finally, he exploits no one. How can he be a private worker?

There is an exception to every rule. Like anything in life, individual activity can be deformed and become its own kind of deformation. Self-seeking speculators are a specific manifestation of this kind of deformation. But they are not inevitable. Deformation of socialism should not be regarded as the norm of socialism. To the point, even public ownership can be deformed. But this is no reason for denying its need and importance under socialism.

Today the main thing to achieve is the accelerated development of the individual sector within the framework of the limits dictated by life itself. This makes it possible to resolve many problems: lowering prices, improving the quality of products and services, normalizing the market, gaining people's recognition. And I think that for this what is needed is to open up a broader horizon for the individual sector, which requires a recognition of equal nature of all forms of socialist ownership in our society. This was done in the recent Law on the Cooperative System. In my view, this kind of measure is also needed with regard to individual, personal ownership by citizens.

It is apropos to note that all forms of ownership are interconnected and interdependent. Thus, without the development of personal ownership cooperative ownership cannot be successfully developed. For the former is the basis for the formation of the latter. The primary form of cooperative ownership can be developed as the result of combining personal, individual means. Effectiveness in the development of state ownership depends largely on individual ownership. If the latter is artificially restricted then its function is transferred to the former. And this can lead to a special kind of overloading, bureaucratization in management and disappearance of the "sense of being master."

There is more. The ispolkoms of the local soviets should necessarily have an economic interest in the "private worker." This is not so at present. It would be proper to keep a considerable proportion of them in the cities and villages, and ispolkom workers' pay should be linked directly to the incomes that the individuals provide for society. Then things would change for the better in this regard. There is yet more. The individual spends his own assets and uses his own labor. Let him prove his soundness to the consumers, not the officials. The less the effort spent on overcoming bureaucratic obstacles, the more will remain for business. I think that it is quite adequate merely to have a "business" registered, patents purchased and taxes paid. And it is time to allow the individual to do anything that is not listed in the register of restrictions. Then the ranks of the individuals will grow more quickly.

The individual is the child of perestroyka and one of its catalysts. He is only just learning to walk along the little known paths of socialism. Society needs him and he needs our support and help.

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Basis of Decisions in Urban Development under Perestroyka

18060002d Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE
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Article by Oleg Nikolayevich Yanitskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, chief scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement, author of the monographs "Urbanizatsiya i sotsialnyye protivorechiya kapitalizma" [Urbanization and Social Contradictions under Capitalism] (1975), "Ekologiya goroda. Zarubezhnyye mezhdistsiplinarnyye kontseptsii" [The Ecology of the City. Interdisciplinary

Concepts Abroad] (1984), "Ekologicheskaya perspektiva goroda" [Ecological Outlook for the City] (1987) and other works; published many times in this journal (No 3, 1978, No 2, 1982, No 1, 1985, No 2, 1986)]

[Text] Public participation in shaping the environment is an important aspect of democratization in public life. The demonstrations and statements in defense of this environment—natural, social, cultural—that have occurred lately in Moscow, Leningrad, Kazan, Ufa, Ryazan and other cities, and the nature of the demands that people have started to make on central and local organs indicate that it is necessary to deal decisively with the alienation of millions of the inhabitants of Soviet cities from the processes of urban development. It is becoming clear that the provision of housing, development of the cultural sphere and preservation of the natural and the historical environment cannot be effectively resolved without the participation of the public.

The studies that we have conducted show that urban dwellers want to participate in all stages of the process of urban development.¹ Accordingly, its democratization must be at least as serious as in the economic and other spheres of public life. It is a question of constant movement toward that condition in which the activity of initiative groups, independent organizations, and expert and other public councils becomes an equal and essential element of the process of urban development on a footing with the work of design, planning and other state organizations.

Numerous methods exist in urban sociology and social ecology for evaluating public participation in the process of urban development.²⁻⁶ In most cases they are based on "further improvement" of this participation, but we have tried to link development with change in the environment-forming model as a whole. The theoretical framework of our analysis rests on two paradigms: a directive paradigm, when the urban environment is being created, restructured and renewed "from above," virtually without the involvement of the public, and a self-organizing paradigm, when the public does not simply participate but independently and fully shapes the environment for its own habitat (see table 1 below). Moving from the former to the latter, it is possible to distinguish 10 stages in development of the level and form of public participation.

Table 1. Main Characteristics of Environmental Paradigms

Parameters	Directive Paradigm	Self-Organizing Paradigm
Decisionmaking subject	state organs	local self-management organs
Nature of decision (purpose)	directive (realization of project)	humanistic (maintaining viability of local community)
Subject shaping environment	external (planner)	"internal" (local population and its groups)
Instrument shaping environment	plan, normativ indicators	program, scenario
Who evaluates plan	professional (departmental experts)	independent experts with involvement of public
Funding source	state plans (allocations)	local enterprises and organs of power
Type of information links	"vertical," sporadic	multilateral, two-way, constant
Stage of process of urban development at which public starts to participate	—	all stages
Nature of public activity	executive, "reactive"	creative, constructive

Stage I—the information stage. Inhabitants are informed about upcoming changes in their living environment via the press, information sheets, booklets, exhibitions of projects, at meetings of deputies of city and local soviets with voters. Usually this kind of information comes "from above" following adoption of corresponding decisions and preparation of a draft plan (for reconstruction or new construction). Although the public has the right to comment, no specialist procedures are envisaged for this precisely because the decision has already been made. The impossibility of changing anything can result in a negative reaction among some population groups. Notwithstanding, the very fact of publicity, and also the volume and nature of the information are important indicators of democratization in the process of urban development at least because they prepare the ground for the next stage of participation. Information is the first stage of glasnost in a given sphere of the public life of society and an exercise of the right of the population to know what is happening in its environment.

Stage II—the "reaction stage." Here the right to know is augmented by the right publicly to express one's own viewpoint. This is a two-way process. On the one hand, the planning and design organs must systematically inform the public about upcoming changes in the urban environment, while on the other, the inhabitants can express their opinion. In general terms, it is suggested that it will be taken into account but no special procedures are laid down for this and the planning organs are not bound by any such obligation. The public opinion polls, publication of readers' letters, and public discussion of architectural plans have the more strategic aim of clarifying the public's attitude toward the process of urban development in general. Moreover, many polls have the more specific goal of clarifying the requirements of individual elements of the environment (schools, children's playgrounds and so forth) and thus strengthening the normativ approach to that environment.

Various forms of prolonged public participation in debate are also used (campaigns and 10-day and month-long periods of participation). If it is a matter of simple

and understandable things, for example, tidying up and planting greenery on a territory, then these forms provide the required effect. However, when it is a question of plans for the reconstruction or renewal of a section of the urban environment then this method is ineffective. As a rule, the public reaction is nonrepresentative, unprofessional and not very constructive because the inhabitants usually do not so much comment on the specific plan if it does not directly concern them, but rather try to express their own understanding (normativ fashion) of their environment. In addition, already at this stage the basic difficulties of mutual understanding between the planner and the public, resulting from the difference in language and value systems, can be seen.

And although there is pro forma feedback, in fact it does not exist because the information flows ("from top to bottom" and "from bottom to top") are qualitatively different.

Stage III—the discussion (communication) stage. This differs significantly from the two preceding stages. First, organizationally it guarantees a right of public expression in the form of public hearings and debates, special commissions and consultative councils, public expert assessments, open competitions for projects with subsequent public debate, exhibitions of prize-winning projects, and expanded sessions of the ispolkoms of local and city soviets.

Second, it is assumed that changes can be made to the plan, and in individual cases it may even be rejected or reviewed. A poll of experts has showed that about 30 percent of sociologists, ecologists and other professionals believe that it is advisable to involve the public already at the stage when the project tasks are formulated. Some 83 percent of sociologists, 40 percent of ecologists and 72 percent of planners see in contacts with the public better

chances of representing the needs of the population, and 42 percent, 60 percent and 34 percent respectively of those experts intend to inform the public using those contacts.

Third, for a certain time discussions and mutual question-and-answer sessions between the experts and the public (between professionals, city administrators and the public) lead to better mutual understanding.

Fourth, the dialectical and paternalistic style in the thinking and actions of the planners gradually begins to break down. Of course, during the course of such discussions they repeatedly accuse the public of being incompetent and unable to formulate its demands "in a proper fashion." But the results of many discussions show that there is a mutual learning process. The planners begin to feel the limited nature of their professional language and their inadequate knowledge of local conditions and the consequences stemming from realization of their project. In turn, the inhabitants begin to understand that it is not enough simply to express their opinion and that their judgment and assessment must to some extent be transformed so that they can be taken into account in the decisionmaking procedures. In turn, the public suddenly realizes with surprise that it is very heterogeneous and that the different groups have viewpoints that must be weighed and summed up. Finally, and perhaps most importantly of all, there is a dawning understanding of the need for changes in the very process by which the environment is shaped since the traditional methods are incapable of taking into account the many significant aspects of city dwellers' everyday life. People also begin to understand that the discussion is taking place not among equals but ultimately in the interests of the plan and the planner.

It would seem that the next stage should be public participation in decisionmaking. However, first we must consider **Stage IV**—public participation in realization of decisions, because in our opinion it is weaker than the next form of public participation. Direct participation in the realization of decisions is effective relative to simple cases, when the positive effect of the project under way is obvious (the planting of greenery, reducing pollution and the smoke level by altering traffic patterns, restoring a decayed monument). These forms of direct participation are usually the collection of donations, using personal labor and assets, utilizing waste, picketing, patrolling and other forms of direct public control.

In its best manifestations this kind of participation hastens the realization of projects and plans and makes it possible to seek out local resources, and it also helps to establish friendly ties, form initiative groups and evoke a sense of communication with a locality. However, as a rule it is the same people who participate in this kind of work (schoolchildren, pensioners, some enthusiasts). The main part of the population considers this form of participation to be boring, lacking prestige and—the main thing—useless because it sees the futility of one-off

efforts. An unmown lawn is trampled down, trees that are planted and not cared for die and so forth. Moreover, these people understand that any project brought into an existing environment must take into account its capacity for self-organization and its cultural potential, otherwise the completed project will inevitably degenerate and ultimately disappear.

In addition, the "simple cases" often involve difficulties and conflicts. A new square is taken over by a rock group, a hockey field interferes with those living on the first floor and so forth. Again people come to the conclusion that a project completed somewhere does not take their urgent needs and tenor of life into account.

Stage V—public participation in decisionmaking. This is a turning point on the road of realizing the "self-organizing paradigm." We note, however, that "participation" is a term that is very indeterminate. We distinguish at least two trends: 1) consistent increase in the "weight" of the requirements and assessments of the public in existing procedures for shaping the urban environment, where the decisionmaking act plays a key role; and 2) change (under the influence of this participation) in the entire structure of this shaping process, with a gradual transfer to a process-driven, permanent model. Subsequent phases (VI through X) are also stages of this transfer.

And so the question arises: what kind of decision? Approval of the latest model describing a normal living standard on a given territory, or work on several principles for the functioning of a given object (city, housing development), an attempt to develop these principles into a program and scenarios for its life? If it is the former it is a one-time act, if the latter, then a usual form of the life activity of city dwellers whose key factors will be a constant search for decisions and research and design activity. As soon as we move toward the "self-organizing paradigm" then ultimately "participation" simply becomes one of the normal, routine forms of the everyday living process.

Finally, the form of participation depends on the scale and content of the task being resolved. If it is a question of developing principles for planning named urban development policy, general plans for particular cities, regions or developments, right down to plans for the reconstruction, renewal or restoration of particular buildings and monuments, then the public participates in national and local referenda regardless of expert evaluations and standing commissions of regional and city councils.

We have also called this stage a turning point because the public interests begin to be divided. As before, one part of the public is involved in the existing structures for decisionmaking while another, which is not satisfied with them, begins to form its own initiative groups and organizations that draw up their own programs for

activity. This division is not absolute since in all probability these independent groups are trying to use the existing management structures. Nevertheless, this division does objectively exist.

Stage VI—independent initiatives. Seeing the inadequacy of directive forms and means for shaping the urban environment, the public begins to advance its own initiatives. Initially they are usually advanced by groups belonging to a particular local environment (young people, pensioners and others). The forms of this low-level self-organization are determined by several circumstances. First, these groups are created by the inhabitants to satisfy their own demands that have for a long time been ignored by city and departmental organizations (repairs to housing, provision of amenities, help for old people and people living alone, and other urgent needs of everyday life). Thus, these initiatives fill the gaps in the urban environment that do not fit into "ecological niches." It is a compensatory kind of public independence. Second, there are the "reactive" (protective) initiatives already mentioned, aimed at preserving an already existing and enrooted environment. We emphasize that in this environment the public knows the situation better than any professional. Third, there are the various groups trying to organize their own life in accordance with group values and standards. Typically this initial stage of self-organization consists of borrowing models of activity from other initiative groups ("we will have everything they have, and better").

But there is another sphere in which independent initiatives arise, namely, among the professionals (architects, designers, artists, journalists, producers). They are prompted to this kind of activity by dissatisfaction with their own professional work. In this way new (experimental) independent theaters, clubs, and design bureaus headed by "independent professionals" appear. Experimental theaters involve creative young people, school-children, students and young actors in their activity. Since these studios are usually located in residential areas, often on the periphery, the local population concentrates around them. Or the so-called paper planning, when young architects, designers and artists, seeing the inadequacy of tradition methods for realizing their ideas, start to create projects, mockups, and three-dimensional models of "ideal" cities, housing developments, quarters and streets, accompanying them with program texts, manifestos and so forth. All these proposals are discussed both in the young professional milieu and by the public.

The situation with journalists is very interesting. In terms of their professional activities these are people are "without roots" who offer a diagnosis of a problem. However, some of them do not limit themselves to this but assume civic responsibility for their resolution and become leaders of public initiatives. Another form of independent initiative is represented by the activity of student environmental protection groups. Since they are formed on the basis of the institutions, these volunteer

bands are well organized and act in an extremely professional manner. But at the same time they are typically filling an "ecological niche" for the manifestation of civic activity, self-expression and creativity by a particular group of urban youth. Because of their territory mobility their permanent contacts with inhabitants are less, but it is difficult to overestimate the importance of their activity in forming an ecologically aware public.

At this initial stage of public participation typical trends are rapidly established: the low-level and professional initiatives begin to meet. The former experience a need for support from the professionals while the latter need a wide audience.

Stage VII—independent programs and "alternative" plans from professionals. The organizational forms of independence at this stage differ little from the preceding stage. However, the content of the initiatives changes significantly. It is, so to speak, the stage of initial reflection of one's own activity. Urgent problems are resolved concerning the environment directly, and a certain status has been achieved in the eyes of the public and the local authorities, but at the same time it is clear that serious transformations require prolonged organizational efforts. It is precisely at this stage that among initiative groups the question arises of programs for their further activity. The need for such programs is also connected with the inability of local activists to translate their actions into the language of projects. Moreover, the square or the children's playground or the lawn not only needs professional design but must also support their life in a specific social and natural environment. Local activists are well aware of what must be done but they usually do not know how. Growing public activity leads to a situation in which the groups begin to quibble with one another. And now one of the most difficult question arises in all its magnitude: where are the boundaries between independent groups and organizations and what are they doing for themselves and for others and the population at large? This question becomes more complicated when it becomes clear that there is another subject operating in the local environment. This is the personnel of the numerous state and local organs located there. On the one hand these personnel are alien to the environment because they do not live there. On the other hand, they are deeply interested in local life because they serve it and it is they who provide the professional assistance and resources for local activists.

One way or another a real need arises to program the activity both of individual initiatives and the development and renewal of the city environment overall.

The initiatives of the professionals develop in the same direction. For example, while continuing their struggle against those directly destroying the environment (poachers and others), the student volunteer environmental protection bands begin to draw up long-term programs for their activity ("Fauna," "Zakasniki," "Tribuna"). Within the framework of the unions of

architects and artists, the cultural foundation and other public organizations, outside working time they discuss alternative forms for the organization of design and planning activity, restoration work and so forth. It was as the result of this kind of "club" activity by professionals (seminars attended by biologists, psychologists and sociologists) that the initial scheme for the "Ekopolis" program was born.

One classic example of this kind is the activity of the creative seminar of the experimental studio of the USSR Union of Artists, where for 7 weeks tense work was done on a project and mechanism for self-organization of the environment in Yelabuga. Two documents were drawn up. The first was a plan for the cultural opening up of the region—in the words of the authors of the draft a "sentimental map" drawn in the manner of the Middle Ages.

The idea is that it should be displayed in all offices where the fate of Yelabuga is decided. The map should also be seen by those who go there to build the new alongside the old in the city. The other document was a three-dimensional poster on subject of a general plan that everyone can understand. Its aim is to prompt thinking about the joint, unified development of social activity and nature on a given territory. Those participating in the seminar tried to look at a plant that is under construction there both as a technical system and as a community of people living in a specific natural environment, and as a link element with culture and with the past. For Yelabuga is the place where the Swedes taken prisoner by Peter I at Poltava set up a copper-smelting works.⁷ We note that this kind of "alternative" seminar with lectures and consultation with first-class professionals is as good as an entire planning institute in terms of its creative return.

Yet another example showing the need precisely for programming the life process of the local community is the youth housing complexes. It very quickly became clear that this form of independence attracts not only young people but also other strata of both the urban and the rural population. What was needed was not one but several types of programs for the activity of such collectives. And this need was so great that the USSR Union of Architects and the Soviet Sociological Association jointly with the state organizations held an open competition for a social model for this kind of complex. It is significant that the first prize was awarded to a family collective made up of the teenage child of a psychiatrist, the leader of the "Levsha" club, and a specialist in the restoration of architectural monuments.

Finally, the municipalities have announced themselves as a subject in the development of the urban environment. Their most progressive leaders, and also deputies, are trying to turn the energy of the initiative groups to the good of the city overall. Using the same forms (exhibitions of projects, discussions, "city days") the municipalities in alliance with the initiative groups are

trying to solve two tasks, namely, increasing their intellectual resources and enlisting support to implement urban programs at the national level.

Stage VII—realization of plans and programs developed by the various initiative groups. The movement from words to deeds is the most complex and conflict-filled stage. It is complex primarily because all the diversity of proposals, opinions and assessments must be combined and shaped into a unified program for implementation. The problem of reflecting in such a program the opinions and wishes of people not in the initiative groups is seen in all its magnitude.

This stage is also complex because of the need to interact with the various organizations—economic, political and legal—and most of all to find the resources to realize the independent programs. Assistance is needed from the city, the plants and the institutes. Consequently, they must somehow be attracted to and be interested in this, and for this at a minimum the program must be set forth in understandable language. Finally, the studies show that of each 100 persons supporting an independent program, only 3 to 5 will actually participate in its realization. Hence, the number of executors will include new people, with their own motives and their own ideas about the urban environment.

Therefore, the initiatives that do not require planning and resource support (clubs, leisure and environment protection support), or that require very little, will be the first to be realized. Nevertheless, as a rule, the process of realizing a program leads to the acquisition of only marginal status by a group. By this we mean the group's acquisition of a formal membership in some public organization (or public commission under a state or municipal organization) but with preservation of its autonomous activity. Since these groups operate under the umbrella of routine structures in the organization (its sections and workshops) they admit of their existence. Of course, conflicts are inevitable since in the final analysis the organization will defend its own interests while the informal group will defend the interests of a territory and its population. Therefore the ideal case is when their interests coincide—if the organization and the population think that of certain program for renewal of the urban environment as their own.

The forms of this marginalization are extremely varied. It can be a standing commission under a city soviet (this kind of commission was set up to realize the "Ekopolis" program). Or it can be the spread of youth initiative centers, groups advocating the preservation of architectural monuments in student construction detachments, family clubs or temperance societies to many cities in the country. One very typical example is the collective of architects and artists who designed and realized the "Arbat Pedestrian Precinct" program. Despite the extensive fame that this initiative has gained, for a long time it was not included in official plans for the work of the design institute and was not specially funded.

Marginalization of the "Levsha" club was somewhat different. While still remaining a club for teenagers it was gradually transformed into an informal scientific-methodological center working on assignment from a commission of deputies from the rayispolkom to develop a method for organizing work outside school at places of residence. And while cooperating with other independent organizations in the region, the "Levsha" club became one of Moscow's experiment centers on the problem of education outside the school.

We note that during the process of realization, the initial idea of an independent program may be significantly changed. This is exactly what happened with some of the youth housing complexes. One set of people drew up the program for them, another set built (or reconstructed) the building, and a third set actually organized social life. However, it seems to us that this is the idea (and difference!) of such programs: they create an opportunity for self-organization of life by the public.

Stage IX—the full cycle of self-organization: "idea—plan—program—decision—realization—enjoyment of boons—change among those involved in the initiative." But completion of the cycle is only a formal attribute. In reality it is a question of profound content and structural transformations in the urban environment. First and foremost this stage is marked by an increase in the proportion of independent organizations producing goods and services or information—various kinds of cooperatives, in particular family and neighborhood cooperatives, public workshops, city (or family) farms and other associations to produce foodstuffs, cost-accounting intermediary, planning, information, consultative and other bureaus. It is significant that some organizations, for example, those restoring historical monuments, that previously operated on a public basis start to be paid for (using funding from public organizations, local soviets and so forth). According to our calculations about three-fourths of independent organizations can be partially or totally cost-accounting.

Later the territorial societies of the "complete life cycle" appear and are consolidated, as, for example, family-and-neighborhood or professional housing-production associations oriented on an ecologically compatible life style. As a rule, a general urban initiative club (or center) is set up to fulfill a number of functions: an "initiative bank," information center, a place for dealings between initiative people and representatives of the city authorities, science and the public. Usually there is a youth (or public) initiative center operating under the Komsomol gorkom or city soviet.

Another typical attribute is the sharp increase in contacts with science and the involvement of scientists in work on initiative programs and the development of independent (non-departmental) experts. In fact a more or less permanent group of authoritative scientists is formed and their activity very rapidly moves beyond the confines of urban problems. Finally, there is a "return" to informal

creative groups of professionals in the bosom of the state planning institutions to develop programs for reorganizing the activity of the latter. Unfortunately, this process moves very slowly, in particular precisely because the entire structure and thrust of the activity of such organizations grows out of the directive paradigm. Therefore much more significance is attached to the spread of new ideas and programs through the channels of the mass media, primarily the mass press and the publication of these innovations by authors in their own books, where they provide their ideas with a value basis. We are not so naive as to hope for any rapid elimination of directive methods in urban management. However, it is significant that under the influence of these cultural processes, instead of a single model of urban-development activity several appear, and these models themselves and the means by which they are implemented (standards, instructions) become more flexible, being gradually transformed into principles for this activity.

Stage X—completion of one cycle and the start of a new cycle of self-organization. The essence of the self-organizing paradigm is its openness. We have presented (in table 1) the paradigms in the form of a dichotomy only for the sake of convenience. In reality, the sequence shown here for the stages is not linear but spiral. Nevertheless, it does have a number of distinguishing features as a stage in the participation of the public in shaping the urban environment. First, self-organization, and hence multiple subjectivity, becomes a standard in the functioning of the city. For some this is total cost accounting, for others the cooperative, a free association, or individual labor activity. Moreover, by introducing cost accounting and deductions from profits for enterprises operating on its territory and payment for the use of city land and other resources, the city itself becomes a subject of self-organization and self-management. Second, if self-organization becomes the standard then this means permanent transformation of the organizational "body" of the city: after they have fulfilled their innovative function, some initiatives disappear while others are developed and gradually alter the profile of their own activity, while yet others are combined to solve even more complex tasks, and yet others again are transformed into cooperatives or branches of state or public organizations and so forth. This process is endless, and moreover it is essential. Hence also the forms of activity in initiatives will also change. Third, when referring to self-organization as a leading principle, we in no way deny the importance of the regular activity of the state organizations. For example, marginalization of independent groups and their partial subordination to and involvement in the activity of the former is a norm in the life of a city. Thus, in a number of cities the general city club (see Stage IX) has been transformed into a city institute, that is, a state-social organization whose purpose is support and control of the entire cycle of self-organization in initiative activity mentioned above. Municipal services are formed on the basis of the initiatives, as, for example, an "ecological service," a telephone "hotline" service and others. At the same time,

many local initiatives becomes the nuclei of mass public movements—for nature conservation and the preservation of cultural monuments, or public organizations such as the Cultural Foundation or the Children's Foundation. It is very important that the inhabitants of cities recognize the dual nature of their position—as creators of their own unique environment and as members of a world society included in the life of the biosphere. Fourth, therefore, it can be concluded that the innovative processes in development of the urban environment are in the nature of a "shuttle" moving between the activity of state (professional) and independent organizations. The presence of some area of tension between "production" and the "club"⁸ is an objective prerequisite for the processes of development in the urban environment.

Finally, at this stage the public does not simply participate one way or another in all stages of the process of urban development but influences the formation of the aims of development in the urban community—economic, social and cultural. This is important both for the inhabitants, who acquire a sense of responsibility for their own city or city development, and for the development of a more integrated approach to programs for urban renewal and development.

It seems that no matter how different they may be, the forms and means for public participation should meet certain general requirements. The chief of these is to be useful—for people and their immediate environment, and for the city and society in general. What does this mean in practical terms—to be useful? First and foremost it means to promote satisfaction of the population's vital needs, from (if necessary) the opportunity to obtain work near the place of residence and to improve living standards, right through to the highest social needs—in creativity, self-expression, and acquiring meaning in life. Public participation is particularly important for the rapid socialization of inhabitants, and for inculcating the habits of social intercourse and behavior in the urban environment, and for mastering, particularly for immigrants, the rights and obligations of citizens, and training for certain kinds of professional activity. In general, it has become clear that the sum of knowledge required by the public about the principles governing the organization, function and dynamics of the urban environment and typical problem situations that arise, is manifestly inadequate.

The learning function (in the broad sense) of public activity is very important. If during the course of this kind of activity a person begins to understand the social and cultural value of how elementary professional skills directly support the urban environment and masters them, and if he acquires the basics of ecological thinking and begins to recognize the connection between local urban and global problems, and if, finally, he learns to evaluate the consequences of his own influence on the environment, then it can be considered that this form of participation is socially effective.

To be useful to one's own immediate living environment means primarily to understand its place in the dynamics of urban growth and transformations. Hence, the forms of public participation should not be sealed, that is, having contact only with one's own environment. On the contrary, they should be open to scientific knowledge (in the form of consultation, expert evaluations, access to data banks, and other methods). The forms and means of participation should also insure a certain continuity, creating for this its own information structure or making use of structures already existing (local newspapers, clubs, design bureaus). The most useful are those forms of participation that provide adequate translation of the public's requirements (for protection, reconstruction and renewal of the environment) into the language of the decisions adopted—their own or those of the local or state authorities. Finally, to be useful means to promote processes of public identification with it and the consolidation of inhabitants on the basis of preservation and development of the values of the local culture. Those kinds of participation that promote self-organization of the urban environment and lead not only to the saving of resources and their rational use but also to their production locally, are both useful and necessary. It is equally a question of natural resources and social resources. In other words, the reproductive functions of any form of public participation. Those forms of participation that are "communicable," that is, that ultimately create a certain stable structure for participation mediating the interaction of the public and the city's social institutions, are also useful. This kind of structure (for example, in the form of a city club or public initiative center) is functionally necessary for the city since the organs of city power are, on the one hand, too large an instrument for shaping the urban environment, while on the other, an unorganized public is incapable of formulating and realizing its own demands with regard to that environment. Accordingly, the forms of participation most functionally useful to the city are those that are two-way and integrative and capable of uniting expressive and instrumental activity and common sense and professional knowledge, local and general culture, and the interests of the public and of the social institutions. Hence also an appropriate language, understandable both by the inhabitants and the people making the decisions.

Finally, the forms and means of participation most useful for the city are those that ultimately become elements of its functional and managerial structure. In other words, those that make public participation and self-organization in urban life an essential element of the political and managerial culture of our society. No matter how acute local conflicts may be, if they take place in the nature of dialogue (between the public and the local authorities and between the public club and the planning department) ultimately this dialogue promotes democratization of the process of urban development in general.

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Residential Environment in the City Center: Orientation on the Needs of the Population

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[Article by Boris Adolfovich Portnov, candidate of architecture, chief architect of the Odessa branch of the State Institute for City Planning; published for the first time in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] Studies conducted by the Odessa branch of the State Institute for City Planning [Giprograd] have enabled us to trace the features of territorial differentiation in the residential environment of historical districts in Odessa and Poltava resulting from a variety of functional and planning situations and differences in the structure of the inhabitants' everyday activity. Data from sample questionnaires completed at places of residence (1,160 respondents from old, central and new

regions), systematic standardized field observations, and a sample analysis of apartment block diagrams (5,324 people) were used as the empirical base.

The study was conducted in three stages. During the first stage we distinguished the groups of functional and spatial-planning factors exerting the greatest influence on the formation and spread of everyday cultural-and-everyday and recreational links among the population. Methods of correlation analysis and regression analysis were used for this. At the second stage, large-scale planning maps of the territory of regions were broken down into typological zones as a function of the factors distinguished. At the third stage an analysis was made of the forms and features of the everyday activities of the inhabitants in each typological zone.

The use of integrated indicators—network density (degree of dispersion) of trade and everyday enterprises relative to places of residence, the scheduled makeup (relationship between facilities of various rank and capacity), the level of comprehensiveness for services, and distance from the main pedestrian and transport lines of communication—makes it possible to divide the territory of the central part of a large city into the most typical types of urban development situations—typological zones [TZ].

The nucleus of the city center (TZ1) occupies 7 to 10 percent of the territory of the central part of the city and is characterized by the highest concentration of service facilities (5 to 10 objects per hectare), a dominance of enterprises of general city importance (more than 60 to 80 percent), and a high level of comprehensiveness for services, associated with the convenient location of trade and everyday enterprises relative to the main pedestrian and transport links.

Territory lying radially in the direction of development from the city center (TZ2) occupies from 10 to 20 percent of the central part of the city and is characterized by a high concentration of service facilities (1 to 5 objects per hectare), a significant proportion of general city enterprises (from 20 to 40 percent), and inadequate comprehensiveness of services (great distances between trade and everyday enterprises and their distance from pedestrian and transport links).

Territories lying adjacent to the nucleus of the general city center and located radially (TZ3) occupy 10 to 15 percent of the central part of the city and are characterized by a poorly developed network of trade and everyday enterprises (0.1 to 1 objects per hectare), a dominance of enterprises belonging to a local network (more than 90 percent), and a high level of comprehensiveness for services.

Territories lying at the periphery of the public and trade complex at the center—markets, bazaars and so forth (TZ4) occupy 5 to 10 percent of the central part of the city and are characterized by a high concentration of

service facilities (from 2 to 5 per hectare), approximate parity between local and general city services and a high level of comprehensiveness, and close integration of trade and everyday enterprises with pedestrian and transport links.

Territories peripheral to the central part of the city (TZ5) occupy from 40 to 50 percent of the area of the central planning region and are characterized by the lowest level of development for the trade and everyday enterprises (up to 0.1 to 0.5 objects per hectare), the dominance of local enterprises (more than 90 to 95 percent), and inadequate comprehensiveness for services because of the considerable distances between trade and everyday enterprises (up to 500 to 800 meters) and their distance from the main pedestrian and transport links.

Analysis shows that it is also advisable to distinguish the sections located on a complicated relief in almost every one of the zones listed. We arbitrarily call this zone six (TZ6). These sections occupy 5 to 10 percent of the territory of the central part of the city and as a rule are characterized by the absence of any types of services establishments and extremely inconvenient access to every enterprises located in the neighborhood.

The functional-planning parameters of the territorial zones distinguished can be compared with data from the questionnaire about the frequency of visits to trade and everyday enterprises (see table 1 below).

Table 1. Indicators Showing Frequency of Visits to Trade and Everyday Enterprises by the Populations of Odessa and Poltava, %*

Enterprises	Typological Zones					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Food stores	114	109	116	112	108	103
Stores selling industrial goods	85	76	86	71	56	98
Public catering enterprises	126	130	135	120	52	165
Facilities offering home delivery of foodstuffs	100	100	120	65	50	10
Repair facilities	128	111	161	111	83	128
Reception points for laundry services and dry cleaning	125	50	150	140	125	50
Pharmacies	161	147	180	162	149	143
Communications services, savings banks	107	84	107	93	80	116

* Calculated according to typological zones, per inhabitant. Indicators are taken at 100

typical for the population of peripheral regions of contemporary mass housing construction.

It can be seen from the table that the inhabitants of the city center (TZ1 and TZ3) are characterized by the greatest activity in the services sphere, while the population of the peripheral territories of the central part of the city (TZ5) are characterized by the least. This relationship corresponds in general to the gradation of the functional-planning parameters of the existing network of trade and everyday enterprises within these typological zones. In other words, the deteriorating conditions for services noted as a function of the distance of a zone from the general city center (less comprehensiveness, greater dispersion of services facilities relative to place of residence and so forth) result in less trade and everyday activity by the population, and conversely, a growing level of services stimulates an increase. However, this dependence is ambiguous. On more careful examination it turns out that diminishing activity by inhabitants as a function of distance from the city center is not linear but undulating. The indicators for this activity rise in the peripheral part of the center (TZ3) and then fall within the territories lying radial to the direction of development (TZ2), and again rise in type 4 zones and only after that reach their minimum values (in TZ5). This might be explained by the fact that inhabitants at the city center (TZ1) and the population at the periphery (TZ3) may walk to general city services complexes. When this

occurs, inhabitants at the center are forced to spend an average of 1.2 to 1.3 times more time moving across the same sections compared to the inhabitants living in the peripheral part of the city since, as field studies show, reductions in the average speed of pedestrian movement at the nucleus of the city center reach 20 to 30 percent. Thus, despite the lower level of development for the network of trade and everyday enterprises in the peripheral parts of the center compared with the central nucleus, services conditions as defined by the aggregate of convenience for the population are more favorable here. And in turn this largely explains the upswing in trade and everyday activity by the population in this zone.

It is more difficult to explain the increase in the activity of the population on type 6 territory. There is obviously a need here to take into consideration the proportion of casual visits in the structure of the population's trade and everyday links. The analysis made showed that the inhabitants of these sections move less often than the inhabitants of the very center beyond their areas of residence for trade and everyday purposes, but to make up for that they visit a larger number of services facilities within the confines of a single pattern of movement. This can be seen, in particular, in the reduced frequency of

visits by the population on this territory to food stores, which are as a rule goal-oriented objects along the route of movement, and the increased frequency of visits to facilities providing less urgent needs—stores selling industrial goods, and public catering enterprises. Moreover, the increased trade and everyday activity by the inhabitants of these territories can also be explained by factors determined by the social and demographic makeup of the population in this zone and by different activity in the services sphere by individual sociodemographic groups.

Along with the indicators for frequency of demand, other important indicators in the everyday behavior of the population in these regions include the amount of time spent and its structure (see Table 2). Analysis of changes in these indicators within the territory of the central part of the city indicates that they correlate closely with the indicators for frequency of demand. This provides justification for thinking that the functional-planning conditions determining one of the parameters for a given kind of everyday activity by the population (for example, periodicity) also exert a significant influence on other parameters (spatial localization, time spent and so forth).

Table 2. Indicators for Average Daily Time Spent by the Populations of Odessa and Poltava in the Services Sphere, %*

Days of the week	Typological zones					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Working days	104	105	113	107	105	130
Days official	85	105	127	116	100	155

*See remarks at Table 1

Great importance attaches to comparison of the structure of time spent by the populations of individual territorial zones within the framework of the cycle of life activity in gaining a better understanding of the processes of everyday trade and everyday in the central areas of the city. It can be seen from table 2 for most of the population time spent on their days off is about equal to time spent on work days, or even exceeds it. The exception is the inhabitants of the nucleus of the city center, who on work days spend almost one-fourth more time in the services sphere than they do on their days off. It is the opinion of experts² that by saving time on traveling to their place of work, training centers and so forth, inhabitants at the center manage to do on their working days what inhabitants at the periphery must do on their days off. This proposition, however, cannot explain the reason for the significant differences in the structure of time spent by inhabitants of the nucleus of the city center and of the periphery who live approximately in identical conditions with respect to access to transport. Obviously, the difference is explained by the fact that it is precisely the center that is the place with the highest concentration of "daytime population" (working there and going to other parts of the city for cultural and everyday purposes). Numerous social studies of the urban environment show that the largest concentration of population at the nucleus of the city center is observed on days off, and minimum concentrations during work days. It is therefore probable that the permanent population in this part of the city visits trade and everyday enterprises primarily on work days when the stores and personal services facilities are less crowded.

It is quite obvious that the functional-planning conditions (level of development of the network of trade and everyday enterprises, the nature of their location relative to pedestrian and transport links and so forth) determining the "morphology" of day-to-day trade and everyday

activity by the population cannot in this way affect the shaping of other kinds of daily activity, as, for example, how leisure time is spent. Analysis shows that the choice of forms and places for leisure by the population in the central areas is significantly affected by the following functional and spatial-planning conditions: the density of buildings, the intensity of functional use of territories, the distance of places of residence from city and area open spaces.

Using the first two of the indicators mentioned about as criteria makes it possible to distinguish the three most characteristic typological groups of territories (TGT) within the limits of the central part of a large city.

1) Territories with the greatest concentration of social functions relating to the center and areas lying radial to the direction of development, toward the peripheral social-trade complexes, and also toward large, compact complexes that are places of work, training establishments and so forth. These territories are characterized by the highest building density (70 to 80 percent) and concentration of "daytime" population (more than 1,000 to 2,000 people per hectare), and intensive traffic movements (up to 1,500 vehicles per hour).

2) Territories located outside the general city center and adjacent to main transport facilities, with low-intensity pedestrian traffic. These territories are characterized by average indicators for building density (50 to 70 percent), low density of "daytime" population (up to 500 people per hectare), and intensive traffic movements (more than 2,000 to 2,500 vehicles per hour).

3) Peripheral territories in the central part of the city located outside the zones of intensive pedestrian and transport transit. These territories are characterized by

the lowest building density (up to 50 to 60 percent), an insignificant "daytime" population (100 to 200 people per hectare), and low intensity of traffic movements (up to 500 vehicles per hour).

Adding the third criterion (distance of residential developments from city and area open spaces) makes it possible to distinguish a minimum of two subgroups in each of the groups listed, namely, territories located within zones of pedestrian access to city and area recreational facilities (A), and those located outside those zones (B).

Table 3. Structure of Places for Everyday Leisure by the Population of Central City Areas (distribution in %)

Place of Everyday Leisure	Typological Groups of Territories					
	I		II		III	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
At home or at friends' homes	32.1	31.4	28.3	27.9	24.6	24.7
Outdoors at home	2.3	2.9	2.6	3.4	4.2	4.7
At the nearest public garden	14.2	11.3	12.9	9.8	8.1	6.5
At recreation areas inside and outside the city	24.1	28.5	23.8	27.9	23.2	27.7
In the city center (walking on the streets, visiting cultural-spectator facilities)	24.5	23.5	27.3	27.2	27.9	28.2
Other places	2.8	2.4	5.1	3.8	12.0	8.2

Figures on the structure of places for everyday leisure by the population of each of the typological groups distinguished are shown in Table 3 above. It can be seen from this table that localization of leisure places is an important indicator of the level of development and social attractiveness of the urban environment. In residential areas located in the zone of active development of central functions, the home and the nearest recreational facilities play a major role in the structure of leisure. As building density and the general level of activity and functionally saturated quarters fall, the role of the immediate vicinity of the home grows as a place of leisure, and the attractiveness of the center and its areas and streets and large, crowded city recreational facilities grows. (Footnote: Similar trends have also been recorded by studies conducted in other major cities in the country³). As the residential groups come closer to the territories of open spaces, visits paid to them increase, and to make up for this the intensity of the use of the immediate vicinity of the home decreases.

These trends are associated with a number of factors. The closeness of the center and the high level of urban activity exert a strong influence on the inhabitants of regions in the first group and they try to spend their leisure far from the "noise of the city"—in their own quarters, small public gardens or completely outside their own area. As the level of urban activity and building density falls, conditions near homes become more favorable for leisure and the desire typical of all

city dwellers to be in the thick of city life grows. The lower intensity in the use of territory within a quarter appears quite normal if more attractive, large recreational spaces ready-made for everyday leisure are located nearby. Unfortunately, however, real trends are not reflected in present urban development standards envisaging the same calculation indicators for specific areas for recreational and sports facilities regardless of the location of residential groups. In practice, this leads to irrational use of valuable urban land.

The traditional quarter is the main element in the spatial-planning structure of historically formed central areas in a city. It is also just as important in shaping the processes of everyday living activities by the population. The inhabitants of the center spend an average of about 70 percent of their time within the quarter (at home and close to the home) (see table 4 below). Here, the nature of the functional use of territories within the quarter changes significantly as a function of local conditions. As building density increases and quarters are saturated with social functions, intensity falls in the use of territories within the quarter for leisure, outdoor games and sports activities, and at the same time its use for utilitarian domestic and everyday purposes (repairs of domestic appliances and tools, laundry and drying clothing and so forth) increases. Similar trends are also observed as territories used by populations of adjacent quarters for everyday social and cultural purposes come closer to city and area recreational facilities.

Table 4. Relationship between Kinds of Functional Use of Territories inside Urban Quarters by the Population of Central Urban Areas, %

Kind of Activity	Typological Groups of Territories					
	1;2I	II		III		
	A	B	A	B	A	B
Passive, nonactive leisure	9.2	11.3	10.2	10.8	9.8	10.4
Social intercourse	26.2	36.1	23.6	35.1	20.8	31.2
Active games, physical culture, sport	14.5	11.3	24.8	19.3	32.9	22.1
Work at home, domestic work	49.3	40.4	38.2	32.5	32.0	27.2
Other	0.8	0.9	3.2	2.3	4.5	9.1

Analysis shows how complex and multifaceted the social-spatial "morphology" of the residential environment in a small part of a city (the center) is, and how significantly it is affected by the typological conditions of the central urban areas with respect to the shaping of processes of the population's everyday living activities. For practical urban development the differences in the way of life of the populations of the central and peripheral urban areas in general are also important. However, giving due consideration to the fact that a whole series of basic research has been devoted to this problem ²⁻⁴ we shall deal only with some of the least studied aspects of this.

It can be seen from the tables that the inhabitants of central urban areas in general are characterized by greater activity in the everyday environment than those living "at the periphery." This is quite obvious when we take into account the closeness and attractiveness of the center and the extensive range and choice of goods and services offered there. Inhabitants of the central areas visit grocery stores, public catering enterprises, personal services facilities and leisure areas more often than the population "at the periphery" (an average of 2.49 to 2.26, 0.28 to 0.23, 0.28 to 0.22, and 2.17 to 1.0 visits respectively per person per week), but visit stores selling industrial goods and cultural spectator performances less often (0.42 to 0.54 and 1.23 to 1.36 visits respectively). Evidently the latter is explained by the considerable availability of cultural and everyday facilities at the urban center and their narrow specialization and dispersed location. Inhabitants of the central urban areas find themselves in complex conditions when a necessary increase in the time spent to obtain services for the most urgent needs (purchasing produce, food and so forth) leads objectively to fewer visits to establishments and enterprises less significant for everyday life activities.

In general, studies that have been conducted makes it possible to formulate certain propositions and recommendations to improve existing urban development standards in the planning and construction of populated points. First, taking into account the special features of everyday behavior of the population in central urban areas in the services sphere, it is possible to recommend a 10-15-percent increase in the indicators for calculating the capacities of food stores, and a 25-30-percent

increase in the capacities of catering and everyday services facilities, and a 15-20-percent decrease in the indicators for calculating the capacities of stores selling nonfood products and offering cultural spectator performances. (Footnote: The values for these indicators are identical for all areas of the city and are, per 1,000 inhabitants, as follows: 70 square meters trading area for food stores, 16 places for public catering enterprises, and 11 work places for everyday services enterprises). Second, the need arises for differential calculation of norms for territory at the center giving due consideration to the specific features of everyday behavior by the population in its individual zones, the level of services reached, and the special features of the functional-organizational network of cultural and everyday enterprises. The highest calculated indicators for enterprises in a local network (those important in a particular residential neighborhood) should be established for sections at the center with the least favorable conditions for accessibility and a low level in the development of the network of cultural and everyday enterprises of city importance, that is, for territories in the peripheral zone of the center (TZ5 and TZ6). Third, in central areas of the city where renewal has taken place the territorial-planning organization for the network of services facilities should be based on use of specific urban development methods differing fundamentally from those applied in areas of new construction. The need for this is determined by the poor differentiation of the street network at the center, the absence of any clear-cut delineation into neighborhood developments and residential developments typical of residential formation in a "new periphery," and the significant integrating role of establishments and enterprises used for general city services in the formation of cultural and everyday links with the population at the center. Because of these factors, in the structural base, under the conditions of the central areas of a city, in order to locate and develop a complex of establishments and enterprises providing everyday services there should not be local developments arbitrarily located for the center but use should be made of those territorial zones already existing and shaped historically, which primarily include the nucleus of the general urban center and sections adjacent to the radial direction of development, and certain others.

The main structural elements for the formation of a set of facilities for everyday leisure and sports activities should also be specific under the conditions of central urban areas. In contrast to small developments and residential groupings according to conditions in areas of new construction, the structural elements in the historical center should be the individual traditional quarters in the zone of intensive development of public functions (TGT1), and groups of quarters should be in sections with the least high level of urban activity (TGII and TGIII).

Finally, for more rational utilization of valuable urban land it is advisable to take into account the experience gained in cooperative use by the population of the center in urban and regional open space (parks, public gardens and so forth) for everyday purposes. Thus, proceeding from the figures obtained (figure 3), it is possible to recommend 25-30-percent reduction in the calculated territory for recreational zones within residential quarters located within walking distance of city and regional recreational facilities. Here, on the territory of "contact" zones (100 to 150 meters) provision should be made for areas for sports and games and leisure for the population adjacent to the residential quarters.

The propositions and recommendations formulated have been used by the Odessa branch of the State Institute for City Planning when working on plans for the reconstruction of the "Moldavanka-1" and "Moldavanka-2" residential developments and the area of the "Privoz" urban market. Their use made it possible to improve the socioeconomic effectiveness of design decisions.

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'The Time Is Favorable...' A Conversation with a Priest of the Russian Orthodox Church

18060002 Moscow

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[Interview with Innokentiy, candidate of theology, teacher at the Leningrad Seminary for Monastic Priests, by SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA deputy chief editor Gennadiy Batygin; time and place not specified]

[Text] *In 1988 at the initiative of UNESCO, not only Christians but also people of various religious and political convictions mark the millennium of the Christianization of Russia (988-1988). This date is a propitious occasion for thinking realistically about the problems of religious life in the USSR. As is known, the basic principles and practice of its state regulation were established in circumstances that were most unfavorable for realism. This is exactly why up to now it has been very difficult to eliminate the "zone of silence" that has existed here and to call a spade a spade. A mutual desire to deal with this complexity was expressed at the meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Pimen, and members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.*

Public interest is growing in questions of the interrelationship between religion and culture, ethics and politics. Under the conditions of glasnost and the open clash of viewpoints, a re-evaluation of the cultural-historical legacy is taking place and new hopes are being born. A dialogue on these problems is held by doctor of philosophical sciences, deputy chief editor of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, Gennadiy Batygin and candidate of theology, teacher at the Leningrad Seminary for Monastic Priests, Innokentiy.

[Batygin] Your Reverence, first of all I would like to say a few words about why I asked you to hold this conversation. When I was still a student in the philosophy faculty at the Moscow State University I, and the overwhelming majority of my fellow students, and perhaps even the teachers, had only a quite vague idea about priests in the church. The view of priests as tricksters and disseminators of spiritual narcotics, a unique kind of "spiritual raw brandy"—a view traditional for the proclaimed ideological stereotypes—could be clearly discerned in this vagueness. This idea prevented us from any dialogue with you in the press. For a long time an invisible but quite rigid line of prohibition was drawn between me, a sociologist, and you, a pastor of the Russian Orthodox Church. It also seemed to me that you were separated not only from the state but also from the usual life of laymen, or at least that you had no contact with our daily problems. Only once did I think about this line, when the now late Valentin Ferdinandovich Asmus, the teacher of my teachers, for some reason put aside his exercise books and talked to us, the second-year students, about the meaning of the words "Sufficient unto

the day is the evil thereof." The meaning of the words from the Sermon on the Mount has not been reduced and it set down roots through the millennia. And each day, including today, we face the eternal problems. One of them is the search for truth. In this regard our dialogue today is extremely topical and essential for the process of renewal, because apart from anything else, renewal also means a return to values that are eternal but subject to doubt. Dialogue is essential for joining the strength of believers and non-believers in solving urgent and vital question. And we have many believers in the country—from 15 percent to 60 percent of the population in various regions.

Today, in the atmosphere of glasnost and democratization we are learning to deal with voluntarist stereotypes that have compelled us not only to accept the inevitable as the reality but also pretend that many of the processes that do not fit into the ideological mold of the "new man" somehow do not exist at all. This also applies in full to the reproduction of religious values—the so-called individual vestiges. I think that we rightly talk about the coexistence of a religious culture and a secular culture in Soviet society, and a diversity of types of perceptions of the world—a diversity that cannot be reduced to some scheme of "the scientific and the nonscientific." How can this very complex sociological problem be resolved? First and foremost by not dramatizing the differences in views that are well known and by seeking out what it is that unites us. And what unites us is responsibility for the future, the desire to preserve the cultural heritage, and belief in the need to renew life and general human spiritual values.

The restructuring is not easy. Even recently, when the editorial office of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA asked you to enter into discussion with the well-known American Sovietologists and religious expert William Fletcher about believers in the USSR, it was terrible for me: what might happen! The stereotype of "cavalry" propaganda—with bells on!—enrooted in the consciousness hampers us: believers and church people are either stupid or have unseemly designs. Soviet people should know that the church is separated from the state but not separated from society. In this connection your view on sociological problems in the spiritual life of our fellow citizens and your position as a theological scholar, historian and simply a man are of undoubted interest.

[Innokentiy] Forgive me, but the last-named position seems to me to be perhaps the one that is most suitable for this kind of dialogue. Any "churchman," "theological scholar" or "historian" in our country lives in the same social conditions as any person. As a citizen he is subject to the same legal standards and social laws. Perhaps the "proud stare of the foreigner" of an American Sovietologist would not catch this, but for us this should be obvious.

With regard to the "stereotype of cavalry propaganda," for you, a sociologist, it is no secret what its influence has been on the shaping of the intellectual climate and ideological standards. At least your early ideas about us, the clerics of the Russian Orthodox Church, bore, I would say, the veneer of a certain romanticism, and the propaganda to which you refer could hardly have counted on that. In fact, the alluring prospect was separated from the hustle and bustle of this world. But as you rightly noted, an invisible but quite rigid line of prohibition was in fact drawn between us. It exists even now in the consciousness of many, including quite respected people. A more critical look at the line between the "permitted" and the "banned" will, I hope, help in some degree to place in its proper perspective the question of freedom of choice and assessment of the cultural legacy.

[Batygin] You mentioned freedom. F. Engels wrote that free will is the ability to make decisions from a position of knowledge. But it would seem that people have different knowledge and a different perception of exactly the same realities of life. There are probably even people today who would like to force you to abandon your religious convictions and enforce a "materialistic truth." And not at all because religiosity, which "has still not been overcome," interferes with their lives; they are obsessed with concern for what is near and dear to them, its "ideological maturity," and ultimately, "all-around and harmonious development."

Here we are not dealing only with religion. We often encounter an alternative postulation, as, for example, one that is far from being a private issue: are you for perestroika or against it? This kind of open and naive sociology seems to be generally radical and testifies to the revolutionary intentions of the questioner. The trouble is that almost everyone is for perestroika... Including those who are for coercive assertion of the "ideal." I have a cause for complaint: I read in one newspaper that there is no class struggle in our country, nor, consequently, class enemies, but in numerous commentaries I have been categorized as an enemy of the people, and there have been demands for my repression. Is this also today's method of polemic? Again we see how the destructive forces are growing, how some people want to find "the enemy," how they try to exhume from the underground the ideology of pogrom.

We have become accustomed to living by creating within ourselves a wordy mythical set of scenery and we fear to look there behind the scenery bathed in artificial light, into the shadow cast by the scenery, into the unlighted and gloomy space where we find the "kitchen" of the play being performed: into the semi-darkness quite different from the nuances of the producer and the technical and rhetorical equipage. Now it is becoming obvious that we are simultaneously the audience and the actors in this spectacle of life, and that it serves no purpose to point the finger at anyone. The devil often turns up behind the most desperate "fighter."

However, the process of renewal is irreversible. The link of time is being restored and we are beginning to look into history for the real causes of human tragedy. A re-evaluation of values is taking place, including the values of the past, and it is difficult and painful. Obviously this is the way it should be: memory is ambiguous; it depends on what we want to see in the past and on the kind of intellectual and moral baggage with which we move into the past.

[Innokentiy] When preparing our students at the theological schools in the Moscow Patriarchy, for a number of historical reasons the task of giving them a serious philosophical training has not been brought up. Therefore although you recalled the definition of *free will*, what came to mind for me was a definition of *freedom in general*, one that I heard from one of the church bishops at a recent international scientific conference in Moscow on problems of theology and spirituality devoted to the millennium of the Christianization of Russia: "Freedom is an attitude of perfect love between two beings, between God and us." In this context talk about class enemies is hardly apropos. Why cannot the break in the link with time be restored by human hands? The real reasons for human tragedies are now clear to many, and perhaps they were earlier.

You talk about the irreversibility of the renewal of life in our country. Here, it would seem that boundless prospects are being opened up for the unsophisticated gaze. Just the mere formulation "re-evaluating the cultural-historical legacy" is worth it. For a desire to look at the past in and of itself imposes an "intellectual and ethical baggage." You have probably recently been hearing, even when standing in line, about the "permanent value of the cultural legacy." I suspect that no one, including people with a "higher education," can provide a clear definition of these concepts.

It is as if everything were intuitively clear. I recall the shy servant Ivan Ivanovich Brilliantov, who late in the last century made known the long-since closed and almost deserted Ferapontov monastery. He not only drew attention to our ecclesiastical, historical and cultural holy things but in 1918 even traveled there from Petrograd so as to continue the work on its restoration despite everything.

The priests Pavel Florenskiy and Mikhail Shik, and Count Yu.A. Olsufev. We have no right to forget their role in the preservation of the Troitsa-Sergiyev Monastery. Professor I.Ye. Yevseyev of the Petrograd Theological Academy, who sponsored a scientific publication of the Slavic Bible and raised the question of a more perfect Russian translation of it. Academician N.K. Nikolskiy, who as long ago as 1902 embarked on the titanic work of preparing a collection of the works of Russian writers since ancient times. If historical circumstances made it possible to accomplish merely the undertakings mentioned, the question of the cultural legacy would be clearer for us.

However, this does not at all mean that in our times our culture does not have its devotees. Thus, for example, Marina Sergeyevna Serebryakova and her associates are heroically preserving the Cathedral of Our Lady in Vologda Oblast, with its frescoes of Dionysius—the only complete architectural and artistic ensemble dating from the 15th century.

The conference that I mentioned, which was attended not only by theologians but also philologists and historians from scientific centers abroad and from Moscow University and the USSR Academy of Sciences, showed that the tasks of preserving monuments of Russian national and general human importance can be resolved despite the obvious historical losses.

But let us return to the theme of "prohibition." For the "line of prohibition" that you mentioned passed through the consciousness of many, and it now passes not only through the environment of social relations but also the field of spiritual relations. Here we are dealing with an unambiguous division between, if I may express it thus, "the sheep and the goats," typical both of a certain genre of atheistic studies of religion and of certain popular works on the history of ancient Russian literature and the arts. What I have in mind is the division between religious content and the esthetic forms of works.

[Batygin] But this is obvious to many people. In the secular literature it is accepted that we distinguish between the icon as a cult object and as an artistic image. For example, the Vladimir "Devotion to the Virgin Mary" icon in the Tretyakov Gallery. They say that the icon exhibited there represents an esthetic, and only an esthetic, value. Of course, for an understanding of the esthetic value of the "Devotion" it is necessary to be aware of the symbolism of the icon. At least it is essential to be able to distinguish between the "Devotion" and the "Oranta."

[Innokentiy] Well, this is simple. What is not understood is something else: how can the religious content of works of ecclesiastical art be torn away and the perception of its esthetic form retained? And if you call to mind the iconography of the Holy Mother, permit me to note that the only argument cited in the literature in favor of this kind of division is that the representation is "as if alive." That is all! I do not see any serious grounds for so categorical a division between the religious and the esthetic. Depending on your convictions, you may believe, for example, in the "phenomenalism" of the icon and cross yourself or simply experience a shock from its inner depth. But in any event it is essential to *understand the meaning* instated in the whole work, without reservations of the "on the one hand.. and on the other hand..." type. Unfortunately, the revival of interest in the culture of the past here is being combined with a horrifying lack of knowledge about the elementary questions of doctrine and religious practice.

[Batygin] There can be no doubt that we should all know as much as possible about the history of our own people. Intellectual darkness and ignorance, of course, can become a basis for atheism, but who needs this kind of atheism? If orthodoxy is our traditional doctrine we must have an adequately complete idea about its dogma and religious practice. However, Islam, Judaism, Catholicism, a number of Protestant denominations, Buddhism, and Shamanism also exist in the USSR, and no one would be hindered from learning about them at what might be called first hand rather than just from the "Atheist's Handbook." Yes, I have in mind freedom to teach and study religion, which is not banned by Soviet law. What is banned is another matter. Without going into the niceties of the legislation on cults—and there are many "niceties" here—let me say that we are still not observing full glasnost in this sphere.

I would like to touch on another subject about which they prefer to remain silent. Sooner or later death comes to every person. Many people have a materialistic attitude toward this but there are people who need confession, even if only for consolation. Attempts to talk seriously about replacing the words of a pastor with some greater effectiveness for some ritual service seem to me cynical.

However, the main thing promoting the elimination of the "line of prohibition" is possession of information. No prohibitions on knowledge are in line with the legal establishments of a civilized society, but our need for knowledge about religion is very great. This can be seen from the great demand for books that provide a scientific description of religious doctrine, hopefully without commentaries that are insulting for believers and unpleasant to read even for a person with no religious convictions. I happened to encounter a certain variety of coercive—phantasmagoric!—blasphemy. Glued into a book of quotations from Holy Scripture... Here it was, the "wiles of history"! The quotations cut from books that are the apotheosis of senseless cynicism triumphant—Leo Taksil's "The Bible for Laughs" and "The Gospel for Laughs." Truly they know not what they do.

We find the sources of the Russian literary tradition in Metropolitan Ilarion's "The Word of the Law and Heaven." Why then today, when the recreation of our cultural legacy is taking place by moving toward truth and life is the Bible—the book that mankind has held in reverence for millennia (and today in many countries in the world oaths are sworn on the Bible, and not at all out of naivete)—if not banned here, then in extremely short supply? What if its content is far remote from dialectical materialism and historical materialism. What if someone does not accept that the Word is divinely inspired; a person reading even a small part of it must experience the illumination of true light, that state of "trepidation" (I use the words of S.S. Averintsev, spoken by him with respect to a contemporary "rethinking" of the topic of the Gospels) that arises when one is concerned with a miracle. I am convinced that despite the shifts that have

been planned, the problem remains what might be called painful. The Bible is essential not only for the millions of believers but for any person of culture.

Confessing a faith is another matter. This is a matter of personal choice and freedom of conscience. The issue is quite clear to me. No one, even less today, bans the study of doctrine and the history of religion. At least our and your generations do not remember the times when churches were being destroyed.

[Innokentiy] But the issue is not clear to me. Here you have a newspaper cutting on your desk. Let me read the ABC that reminded me of my own candidness. The author writes that the people should know their own history, their own heroes. Then he points out the directions of social thinking that "they understand" differently. Here: "The fourth direction (for myself, let me add: I as a Christian and an Orthodox theologian follow this direction) unearths and restores the old Orthodox times. Not only what is artistically beautiful (on which there is no argument, it is essential) but everything Orthodox, 'sacred.' And for this we count from 1917. It really was a turning point, including for the 'sacred'; it really did 'cut the ground away' from under the 'sacred.' And if Orthodoxy is regarded as our history then, yes, this history was indeed cut away from under, and rightly so." This was written not in the years of repression but today, in the period of perestroika.

Forgive me for such an extensive quote, but I want to show you that the "ideology of cutting the ground away" is also well known to our generation. As if someone has a supreme prerogative to show people what can be "unearthed" in history and what cannot, a prerogative to sort out the historical past into the "beautiful" and the "old Orthodox times."

Here is another example testifying at least to the lack of understanding of religious culture. Early this year the draft "Provisions on Procedure for Publishing Books, Brochures and Publications by Authors" was published. To some it seems a bold step in the direction of democratization. But see how deeply the stereotypes have eaten into the consciousness. The author cannot use his own facilities to publish books "propagandizing war, violence, national dissension, racial or national exclusivity, or religious-mystical doctrines at variance with the principles of communist morality and ethics." This list speaks for itself through the commas. Religious-philosophical literature is set side by side with works at variance with constitutional principles. The present Constitution permits absolutely all citizens to confess their own faith and religious propaganda (despite a widely held opinion) is nowhere banned by present legislation. But freedom for atheistic propaganda has long since become the "talk of the town."

[Batygin] Permit me, but various religious organizations have the opportunity to make use of state printing houses...

[Innokentiy] And have you seen many publications put out by religious organizations, or tried to acquire them?

[Batygin] I saw the church calendar in your office, but I have not tried to acquire a Bible, or rather "get hold" of one from a speculator.

[Innokentiy] Meanwhile the publishing section of the Moscow Patriarchy has no opportunity to provide Orthodox Christians even with a church calendar.

However, let us return to the question of question the Russian spiritual legacy. We have dwelled on the fact that we do have scholars, laymen and church people devoted to the cause of preserving the monuments of history. Interest in ancient Russian is growing in the consciousness of the people. You have on your bookshelf a beautifully bound, compact and inexpensive edition of the "Trinity" anthology compiled by G.I. Vzdornov—the highest achievement of ancient Russian art. Thank God that there is not so much foreign text as in similar publications.

No, I am in no way against propaganda of our art abroad. But it is quite obvious that it is primarily the Russian people who should be given broad access to their own history and culture. Do what you will, it is still impossible to separate the lofty beauty of the "Trinity"—the icons—from the idea of the Divine Trinity. Permit me to open the book and read one piece: "The image determines the balance found between the soul and the spirit, the flesh and ethereality, feeling and thought, life and death, suffering and the passionless, eternal and immortal existence in heaven. And because of its amazing multiple layers, equaled nowhere else, Rublev's 'Trinity' has been and remains equally arresting both for the theological scholar and for the ordinary person who looks in it for an image of consolation when building his own life."

[Batygin] Obviously no one has the right to dictate to a person the method whereby he perceives cultural values. He must also take up freedom of choice, and responsibility for his own position in life. Perhaps I am mistaken, but it is much easier and simpler to exist in an atmosphere of rigid prohibitions and proscriptions, in an atmosphere in which there is no burden of choice, and hence no responsibility to one's own conscience and to people. "Authorized freedom" frees us of responsibility. If it is said that ancient orthodoxy is bad then there is no need to think or doubt: "cutting the ground from under one's feet" (the very phrase is not only symbolic but also ominous and factious—it is common knowledge that during the period of repression the believers shared totally in the fate of their own people).

A proclaimed "truth" about the reactionary nature of "the clergy" was not necessary for many in their arguments. B. Pasternak spoke very accurately about the self-proof of truths proclaimed by the revolution. It is amazing, but violence in the sphere of spiritual life is

also a unique manifestation of freedom of thought (again Pasternak: "The man who is not free always idealizes his bondage"), and at the same time a fetishization of "the people." Instead of roughly drawn democratic decorations we have ochlocracy and domination by those dark forces that deprive people of their reason and turn the people into a mob. There is no place for the individual here. The monolithic massif discards and destroys individuality and "differentness." And all the same, religion is the main thing that enables a person to find within himself the strength not to follow the majority to evil and manage to retain his faith. Even the daily expectation that they will force him to silence by knocking away the stool from under him or by some other method does not stop him. In this sense Pavel Florenskiy, Sergey Bulgakov, Andrey Platonov, Osip Mandelstam and millions of other people suffered the same fate. Was it a matter of religiosity? Even today under conditions of democracy in the ascendant, public opinion is polarized: we can in no way become accustomed to the existence of a different position or recognize pluralism of opinion and evaluations. It would seem that we have no other way than to remain homogeneous and monolithic to the point of impermeability. But the times are changing. The process of revival of the cultural legacy and of the historical memory of the people is under way. We are also observing a revival of religious values, even if in the form of the attraction of neophytes. Here it is important to see the ground on which the fruits of freedom of thought are growing—"by their fruits ye shall know them." This is not simply because now in the social atmosphere there is too much that is superficial, some kind of cursory parboiling; it is also benighted calm deep down.

Let me give you an example. Various kinds of debating clubs, societies, associations and circles are now springing up like mushrooms after the rain. A huge hall is filled to overflowing, and the social scientists and journalists stand there on the stage. A professor explains how to combine the plan and the market, how the predictions have been made. He is given a few minutes up there on the stage, with the lamp burning, and when the public gets bored the speaker looks around cautiously... And already the hall is impatient and someone whistles from somewhere. But although the professor is a experienced person he does not know how to control the audience. And then it is all over: disruption! Disruption of the economy, disruption of the family, disruption of the school, disruption of science, disruption of culture, disruption of atomic power... Let the Ministry of Defense take it all under public control! The hall explodes with applause, eyes water, hearts beat—"let's do it!"

Under the conditions of perestroika and freedom of thought combined with a shortage of information, we would very much like to hear, even from the side, "what is all this?" Tell us about things under Yezhov, under Trotskiy, who killed Kirov? why did you not write this in

Kaganovich's time? where is the full text of the Khrushchev report? the masonic Jews burned the Troitsa-Sergiyev monastery, let us have the "Pamyat" sociological center, the keepers of the faith are the vanguard of perestroika... Enough! The following analogy comes to mind: a pendulum of the public frame of mind swung for so long to the right and now swinging sharply to the left, and then to the right again, and some time is required for it to reach equilibrium.

[Innokentiy] What is needed is not time but wisdom, or, more accurately, what in Orthodox ascetic practice is called the wisdom of humility [smirennomudriye] for a sober and comprehensive examination of the historical experience of the past—ancient and modern—and recognition of our own responsibility for it by right of national legacy.

[Batygin] Do you think that a national spirit of the Russian people exists, can it be considered the "keeper of the faith"? How is the national question resolved in the Orthodox theology?

[Innokentiy] In the Orthodox ecclesiology (the teaching on the Church) it is resolved simply. The Church is shaped according to the attribute of the land, that is, the place of one's residence. The Russian Orthodox Church is the orthodox church in Russia but not a church for Russians. Historically, representatives of many nationalities have made up its clergy and flock, and never in the thousand-year history has our Church known the problem of "national purity."

In general, the problem of the foreigner does not exist in the Church as a Christian community. I recall the words of the apostle Paul when addressing the diverse national, class and property relationships among the Christian community in Galatia—an area in Asia Minor—during the first decades of the existence of Christianity: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bondman nor freeman, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

As far as the Russian people are concerned, this is a great nation. And not only in the geographical sense but also the spiritual and cultural sense. And if you talk about the Russian national self-awareness, as for the Orthodox self-awareness, then nationalism is alien to it. The problem of nationalism is not a theological problem but a sociological problem, but it seems that nationalism can be understood and even justified in small ethnic groups located within a multinational environment. Here, nationalism is justified to the extent that it does not pass beyond the confines of a people's spiritual self-determination. And as far as I know, as an historian, Russian nationalism must be a deviation from our culture and from Russian spiritual traditions. Today it is even difficult to separate it from lack of culture and lack of spirituality.

[Batygin] We have really come round to talking about "Pamyat." And I would like to recall that some representatives of the association long ago advanced the slogan "Orthodoxy as Homeland"...

[Innokentiy] Let us first of all examine what we mean by "Pamyat." We have read articles in newspapers and journals and, moreover, we have at our disposal separate testimony from eyewitnesses. It is not certain that those people who represent themselves as members of the association have a proper right to do so. I am not convinced that "Pamyat" exists as a organization in the full sense of the word. But at least neither you nor I know its composition or program.

Preservation of the monuments of Russian culture is one of "Pamyat's" aims. This aim is acceptable to all of us. But we are evidently not interested in the "Pamyat" association as such but with its associated trend of nationalistic activism. It is possible that "Pamyat" is a myth. I hear from people who call themselves members of the association that they are against nationalistic slogans and demagoguery.

Let me note that using the outward attributes of Orthodox theology in combination with the propaganda of ideas dreamed up by those who essentially advocate enmity and political force testifies to the ignorance and demagogic nature of these kinds of declarations. A superficial knowledge is worse than no knowledge at all. Evidently having read in popular publications that the "church people" at one time proclaimed Moscow as a "third Rome," the Russophile nationalists have seized on this phrase. But they fail to take into account the fact that when Filofey talked about a "third Rome" he used the words in an eschatological sense and was talking neither about political greatness nor the advance of "the latest times." Nothing is said here in the spirit of majestic-monumental exclusivity.

Finally—and this is most important—we are obliged to consider who is to blame for the destruction of Russian holy things. People remember first and foremost the Church of Christ the Savior. In fact, the loss of this incomparably beautiful monument to Russian glory is irreplaceable. It is mainly Kaganovich who is abused here. But he did not do what he is accused of alone, in a desert. It would be more correct to raise the question about general national responsibility for what happened. As a historian of the Russian Church, I see clearly here a certain share of responsibility on the part of the prerevolutionary clergy, which was not adequately engaged in bringing enlightenment to the people, first and foremost the peasantry.

[Batygin] Whether we want it or not the mass repressions, the atmosphere of all-embracing "vigilance" cultivated over the decades, and the fear of mutual denunciation have made concern for the past misplaced. Even looking into the past was not without danger. The uniquely interpreted idea of "the new man"—godless,

loveless, unrepentant—replaced individual responsibility with loyalty to the regime. And this is the only explanation for the actions of those who, perhaps sincerely in some kind of strange passion, tried to straighten out their own times and not the past. One of my friends grew up in the village of Troyebortnoye in Bryansk Oblast. He tells how during the Thirties the priest in this tiny Russian village was killed, by a shot fired through a window from a sawed-off gun. The police never found the killer but the village knew who had long had no special liking for the "long-skirt." The old priest had in fact been neglecting his pastoral duties—he performed the baptisms and funeral services when he had to, but mostly he worked in his kitchen garden. All the same, an end was made to religiosity—even without an order from some authorized agent.

[Innokentiy] As a Christian I do not settle the accounts. But without an understanding of the past we cannot be full-fledged people of the present and the future. Why did doctor of philosophical sciences I.A. Krylev publish at one time an article in which it was "proved" that religious activists (it was a question of a commune of teetotalers who were socially and politically harmless) are "enemies of the people"? And why even today does he accuse writers of "flirting" with religion? The explanation for this goes far beyond the framework of purely personal characteristics. It is the business of sociologists to study the genesis and dynamics of sociopolitical situations that create the very opportunity for political denunciations.

[Batygin] Already the approach to the problem and the perception of the world by pseudo-patriots are deeply eclectic. Strange as it may seem, this same approach to the problem is taken by some of their "unmaskers." Religious culture and the demagogic shouts of the alleged fighters for the Orthodox past are thrown together in the same group. And moreover, to commit to the real state of class affairs is supposedly a petty bourgeois social base for religious-political and nationalistic attitudes. With the concept of class comes the idea of the individual as the "spokesman" for someone's objectively hostile interests, and this suggests the conclusion of intrigues by the special services: the nightmare syndrome of persecution grows. As a result we again have the abuse and further searches for the enemy. The circle is closed. Let us be consistent in our reasoning. Who needs the ideology of pogrom? Not only not the Russian people. Both the nationalistic appeals and the attempt to find behind them a "petty bourgeoisie" seem at least inappropriate. But what social reasons, not necessarily class reasons, should be here? We shall not understand the situation if we explain everything by intellectual darkness and ignorance.

[Innokentiy] The issue is broader: what actual trends in public life gave rise to "Pamyat"? The process of renewal is, apart from anything else, also the overcoming of totalitarian, "dichotomous" consciousness, when people perceive a lie not as a deviation but an objective reality

made aware in our sensations; closing the gap between word and deed, and word and word. "Pamyat" is trying in its own way to close this gap and it therefore a certain social force that cannot be ignored, the more so since some of its supporters appeal to Orthodox values.

[Batygin] I am also deeply in consonance with "Pamyat's" initiatives aimed at preserving the culture of the homeland. Other people who declare themselves representatives of the association are taking an obviously chauvinist position. The impression is being created that we have several quite different "Pamyat" associations. These issues must be discussed in the press and the leaders of the movement given an opportunity to speak, and then perhaps what is secret will become clear. However, in my opinion, there is no religiosity as such in the "orthodox" initiatives of "Pamyat." There is merely a form of hidden social conflict that is being transformed over time under conditions in which the criteria delimiting the secular consciousness from the religious is, as it were, being dissolved.

For along time I had no doubt at all that the growth in education and secular culture would little by little supplant religious belief—"prejudices"—in people's life. Today I am ready to testify to an increase in true believers among quite well educated people. I remember the situation when the fact that the cosmonauts recorded nothing resembling heaven in orbit around the Earth was considered a serious argument in favor of atheism. Today these kinds of "arguments" can elicit only a smile or puzzlement. Obviously education and faith are things that are at least not mutually exclusive. Again I must recall the name of Pavel Florenskiy's father. Mathematician, philosopher, linguist, electrical engineer and mechanic, a researcher on permafrost, he was a true Christian, an Orthodox priest and theologian. He perished anonymously in the GULAG among the millions of martyrs, both believers and nonbelievers.

One way or another science no longer regards itself as the apex of the "pyramid of knowledge," at least it finds shifting sand in its own foundation and is turning hopefully to "metaphysical" values and to "human" truths.

Strange processes are also taking place in the mass consciousness. In the age of general computerization and robotization many nonbelievers or those who consider themselves nonbelievers have no doubts about the baneful capabilities of the "evil eye" and believe in magicians and "flying saucers," and also in the holy eucharist and the redemption of sin. In the West they talk increasingly about a religious renaissance in the USSR. It must be acknowledged that these processes are unexpected for Soviet sociologists.

Along with other journalists I recently talked with the leaders of unofficial youth associations. The representative for "Sistemy" (an analogue of the hippy movement),

Vitaliy, substantiated very competently and convincingly rejection of the acquisition of material things and violence in any form, service in the Armed Forces, and work—"for work is essentially slavery." I asked him how members of "Sisterny" should act in a case in which they needed money or, if worst came to worst, to eat. Looking through his pince-nez into space Vitaliy said the following: "Is not the soul food?" And he went on to recall the "birds of the air" and the "grass of the fields." No, he is as far removed from the church as, say, a collector of icons. What is this? "Excess" social symbolism typical of fringe people, or a form of dissent, or a variety of religion? Is not a unique diversification taking place today, a consolidation of diversity, of religious values, and their penetration into the secular environment and a mixing with politics, morals, culture, even science and economics?

[Innokentiy] There is a science of the principles of the interpretation of texts—hermeneutics—and I am sorry that young people remain in ignorance about the true meaning of the words that they have learned. Some kind of awakening of spiritual life really is taking place today, accompanied, as you have expressed it, by a diversification of religious values. It is not so much a renaissance as a "blind" search. But of course, there is spiritual "fascination" in enthusiasm for, for example, "parareligious" cults and "the calling up of spirits," or levitation or Krishnaism. But these are all transitional forms. And we should not underestimate the possibility of the coexistence of diverse, including transitional, forms of spiritual life. A person has the chance of moving from fascination to a real knowledge of God, a chance of gaining spiritual freedom.

[Batygin] Father Innokentiy, I have a firm hope that over time the official or semiofficial restrictions on religious life will be eased. Already today we see stricter observance of the legislation on cults on the part of state organs; at least in the registration of new communities is no longer an insoluble problem. The Tolgskiy convent, closed 60 years ago, has become an active cloister for women. Monks with medical training will serve in a hospice for the aged set up in a monastery. The decision of the Yaroslavl Oblast soviet is not an isolated example of fruitful cooperation between state and church.

At the same time, normalization of the position of the church and of believers is only just starting in our country. We carry the heavy burden of problems "from the old regime." In my view, the main thing is to make what is secret open. Many enforceable enactments, instructions and explanations concerning religious life remain a closed book, and too much depends on the personality of the person authorized by the USSR Council of Ministers Council on Religious Affairs in any given region. He can always say "No provision is made for this!" And everything. I have never once heard that a dispute between believers and the state has been decided in the courts. What I have in mind is civil suits... Meanwhile, as they say among laymen, the game is all at one goal mouth.

But this is still only half the trouble. Believers find themselves in the position of outcasts not at all because of the official separation of church and state. As you have said, a believer lives in the same social conditions as any person, and at first glance is not isolated in any way. But, as the apostle said, "as unknown and yet well known." It is difficult choose the exact words to describe the very complex sociological problem of the position of believers in the secular social environment. Here, of course, there is not always an articulated allusion, an allusion of dissent, and in fact, under conditions of the declared and actually affirmed spiritual unity of Soviet people the adoption of nonmaterialist convictions means nothing but that until we get the hidden challenges and social conflict. But I think that because the phenomenon of religious belief itself is perceived by the mass psychology as "strange" rather than alien, pseudoconflict is in some way remarkable. I am sure that your appearance in a cassock on the street makes passersby look round with a so-called unhealthy interest. A conversation took place at the institute about the life and teaching of a religious philosopher. The rumor had been spread that a real monk was coming, perhaps even the archimandrite. The hall was full. Even the young girls wanted to watch... But to our astonishment the monk was just a normal person. Even the representative of the party buro was disappointed. Shaw was wrong, but the seminar continued late into the night.

In my opinion, the problem of the coexistence of the church and of society is also enrooted here. It cannot be resolved "from above," but life itself is already looking for ways to escape from the impasse: a person's devotion to any religious denomination should be perceived as quite *ordinary*, even if interesting, as something healthy, or ultimately, with indifference.

Everything that I am discussing now is variations of the same phenomenon: violent alienation of religious culture and religious consciousness from the officially approved culture and the "standard" social consciousness—an alienation that is not uniformly negative and mutually exclusive, like a plus or minus, but the kind that could be described by Jaspers' paradoxical phrase "love-hate." There is astonishment here, and rejection, and a permanent attraction to real values, and hope, and fear... But most of all there is an obedience: if it is said that there is no God then that means that there is: God is dead and everything is allowed.

It is impossible not to see in everything that is now happening and being retained in our minds the anti-values brought to us since the time of the journal BEZBOZHNIK. What is purely human, true and lucid, what lives always in the soul, or perhaps the conscience, coexists, sometimes quite peacefully, with the awareness of an obligation "to deliver a rebuff." It seems to me that when we have finished recording our conversation here and begin to pass it through the editors, from somewhere out of nowhere—at least for us—there will arise a desire

(addressed at me, a Marxist) to deliver to you an ideological rebuff. In the dispute with you I am obliged to "win," and this is my social role.

It is too naive and simple to attribute the relapses of ideological bans to Stalinism and point the finger at the past. The past is being reproduced every day and the dead seize the living... You and Fr Boris Danilenko and other Christians—Orthodox and Old Believers—recently met with junior scholars from a prestigious academy institute. I remember the atmosphere of real interest, trust and a desire for the truth, without the slightest hint of people trying to foist their opinions on each other. We wanted just one thing—to know! And after your departure a continuation of the discussion took place at a crossroads in Moscow under the street lamps with several young representatives of a high Komsomol organ. In the hall they had been observers rather than participants, but here they spoke out directly: defects had been permitted in the organization of the meeting and atheists had been unable to deliver a rebuff to the church people. We were unable to justify ourselves, and we included some experts on religion with doctorate degrees.

What did the Komsomol people have in mind? No matter what, deep in their young, clear thinking a scheme had been laid down, clear-cut, like an order: "Us or them."

The "strange" position of believers in society also superimposes a "strange" imprint on their consciousness. Here we see similar problems, but "in reverse." The unsatisfactory catechization of parishioners is well known, and few understand the meaning of the liturgy, and very few know the basis of the Orthodox doctrine—the "Articles of Faith." As a result of the low level of religiosity in the structure of religious behavior the sphere of ritual is over-emphasized, but the main issue remains a man's soul. What is happening here? It seems to me that sometimes, even if in exceptional cases, religiosity acquires the form of a unique cultural-ecological "ghetto" whence a person surveys the world with the detestation of an outsider.

Perhaps future researchers on the destiny of Christianity will note among the trials it endures not only persecution (which is powerless to destroy the faith) but also spiritual pharisaism, devouring—in equal measure—the souls of believers and nonbelievers. Let us remember what Pasternak said: "Everything is drowning in pharisaism."

Why am I absorbed with these generally trivial details? Obviously a church separated from the state, or more accurately the Orthodox community, possesses one "advantage" over other non-state public associations, even unofficial ones, namely, it is "unofficially" separated from society and is a certain "internal border" (I take this idea from the religious expert Sergey Filatov). It is impossible to insure normal activity for any and all

congregations in a society merely by decree. What is needed is normal democracy, political culture and the habit of respect for human rights.

It is not enough to establish freedom of conscience by decree. Conscience is the kind of thing that needs no permission; it is or it is not. Freedom of religion becomes a reality only when conscience becomes a matter of the personal freedom of each person, a matter of personal choice. Today we talk about freedom, alternative thinking and the need for different thinking and political pluralism. But the renewal of life is possible only given the rejection of the "image of the enemy" and total acceptance of the doctrine of nonviolence as an ethic and principle of the interrelationships between people. And of peace as a state of the soul, of moral purity and belief in good. There are values that cannot but be sacred for believers and nonbelievers if, of course, a person has not lost his humanity. These are "thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal," "honor thy father and thy mother," "they shalt not bear false witness"...

[Innokentiy] You have talked about peace as a state of the soul... The great suppliant of Russia, the Reverend Serafim Sarovskiy said: "Acquire a soul at peace and thousands around you will be saved." But where should we take this? At the Feast of the Passover Christ said to his disciples: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." And if you talk about freedom, then the most important thing here is perhaps freedom from prejudices, which enslave a person, even when the powers-that-be do not hamper political freedom. How often we see those who are slaves to their own passions and prejudices ruling in a particular social sphere! When I perform the sacrament of baptism and say "I baptize this bondman of God..." I know that it is precisely this devotion to God that brings the person freedom from sin.

[Batygin] As we wind up this conversation let us try to formulate where we have come and what the result is.

[Innokentiy] As a Christian I make each questioner aware of my hopes, and I think that today I have done this, even though only in part. As far as the results of this dialogue are concerned, let the reader judge for himself. "The time is favorable..."

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The Professional Under Extreme Conditions

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[Article by Igor Yuryevich Sundiyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Moscow Higher Militia School, major in the militia; has been published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA ("Unofficial Youth Associations: Experience in Exposure" (No 7, 1987)]

[Text] The intuitive explicitness of the term "extreme conditions" is deceiving. There are several definitions of this phenomenon. The most widespread and the most

constructive states as follows: "Extreme—conditions outside the framework of the standards as applied to a given kind of activity." And immediately the following question arises: is there a standard that is common to the various professions, as, for example, a militiaman and a miner? If we look at the situation from the viewpoint of maintaining the qualitative explicitness of the subject and system, then we may distinguish the following: para-extreme conditions, when the movement outside the boundary of the standard does not entail significant social or psychological consequences for specialists; inherently extreme conditions, when those consequences are great; and para-terminal conditions—situations in which the specialist himself is in great danger¹

What are the criteria of the standard itself? On the one hand they are set by the surrounding reality (natural and technical). Obviously it is impossible to guarantee "normal" conditions everywhere for professional activity. First, it is impossible to establish real control over natural phenomena. The active opening up of regions with complex climatic conditions and natural calamities all create extreme situations. Second, even the most advanced equipment and technology does not provide a 100-percent guarantee against accidents. Moreover, with the deepening of production automation and increased energy intensiveness the scales of possible catastrophes also grow and sometimes assume global proportions (examples of this were the accidents in Bhopal and in Chernobyl). On the other hand, society itself sets the standard. Or more accurately, demands for its development require movement beyond the boundary of the known and the accustomed. This includes the opening up of new territories and new kinds and spheres of activity (such as those in space and in the oceans).

Activity in extreme conditions fulfills two main functions. The first is "breaking through the boundary of what has been mastered," that is, scientific and geographical discoveries and the creation of new material and cultural values.

The second function is "protection of what has been achieved," that is, the struggle against external and internal factors that destabilize the social organism. Even relatively recently this function was the prerogative of the army and the emergency services and detachments guaranteeing public safety and civil order. Now the situation has radically changed. For the first time in history it is technically possible for mankind to destroy itself. There are several versions of the destruction of everything [omnitsid]: nuclear war and "nuclear winter," global disaster and ecological catastrophe, a pandemic resulting from out-of-control biotechnology, and destruction of the ozone layer. Under these conditions "protection of what has been achieved" is activity aimed primarily at preventing and averting this kind of development of events, that is, the prevention of accidents, catastrophes and military conflicts. Consequently, each specialist at his work place must clearly understand what he holds in his hands, have a deep recognition of

the degree of his social responsibility, and know accurately the actions that must be taken in the event of the onset of a crisis situation. This does not mean that traditional forms of emergency and law-enforcement activity and protection of the citizen are not needed. The development of prevention does not negate the role of practical specialists but helps to raise the level of demands made of them and to differentiate between kinds of professional activity.

We Choose, They Choose Us

Who chooses professional activity in extreme conditions and why? First, people whose abilities are difficult or simply impossible to realize in normal conditions. It is precisely such people who work in the most long-term fields, where there is still no guarantee of success or public recognition. Typically they are oriented not on prestige self-assertion but on self-realization, and they are often doomed to misunderstanding, mockery and ostracism.

A second group is formed mainly of young people for whom the problem of self-realization is very urgent. The desire to establish a personality at the right time by moving beyond the framework of the generally accepted standards is quite natural: in this way a person is convinced of the correctness or erroneous nature of existing standards, rules and evaluations and he knows what he is capable of. Activity in unusual, complex and dangerous situations opens up extensive opportunities for self-realization and self-assertion. Moreover, this kind of activity is also of evolutionary importance: new scenarios for development are tested. It is precisely youth, which is not burdened with a life experience, that moves more boldly toward the unknown.

A third group is made up of people who are trying to obtain the moral and material boons that society provides for those who work in extreme conditions. Here, prudence and a readiness for risk and the need for acute sensation and claims to status are all intertwined in the motivational structure. This is the most numerous detachment of professionals.

In this connection let us turn to the results of a study of value orientations among high school graduates at the Moscow USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Higher Militia School (observations conducted by the author since 1979). Among young people with a minimum amount of social experience, the dominant motive for enrolling in the school (and becoming involved in militia work) is the desire to demonstrate their unusual, so it seems to them, abilities, and the prestige of the profession. In the opinion of those polled, the following qualities are the most important for people in the militia (in order of importance): boldness, courage, resourcefulness, self-control and powers of observation. More than half (52 to 61 percent) of respondents believe that they already had all the necessary qualities and that only training is required for work. In plans for the future the top places

(in order of preference) are occupied by the following: criminal investigation, investigations, combating embezzlement of socialist property and speculation [BKSS]. The main source of information about the profession is movies.

The second group is those high school graduates with moderate social experience. Their main motive for enrolling in the VUZ is the opportunity to obtain a higher education and then be employed in socially important activity. They ascribe the following qualities to the "ideal" militiaman: honesty, courage, self-confidence, boldness, and possessed of a developed intellect. Most graduates in this group (74 to 87 percent) think that "they possess the necessary qualities but that they need to be further developed." After graduation from the school those polled would want to work in criminal investigation, the investigative organs or the BKSS. Their main sources of information about their future profession are movies, detective novels, and stories told by friends working in the militia.

High school graduates in the third group are those of whom we say: they know life. They have chosen service in the militia so as "to be employed in socially important activity that offers moral satisfaction and a good material position." They consider the main things in a militiaman to be honesty, boldness, courage, intellect, and an understanding of people. All respondents in this group express the opinion that that they have the necessary qualities but that they need to be further developed. They dream of becoming investigators, workers in criminal investigation, and being employed in administrative activity. Things said by militiamen, stories from friends and movies have influenced their choice of future profession.²

We see that in all groups, but to a different degree, there is an obvious desire to reveal their own possibilities, primarily intellectual, and temper their character, and there is readiness to take risks for that. The circumstance that those polled think that they will assert themselves as individuals through socially important activity is also noteworthy.

A Test of Endurance

Work in extreme conditions entails significant social and psychological changes in the personality. The individual either becomes more human in the highest sense of the word, or degrades to a bestial level. Speaking figuratively, extreme conditions eliminate the half-tones and nuances of people's behavior, assessments and qualities and takes them to the limits: black or white, friend or foe.

The key to understanding these changes is analysis of the processes of adaptation. Relying on information obtained during the course of a study of the activity of associates in various subdivisions of the internal affairs organs, it is possible to distinguish three main stages in

the involvement of the specialist in extreme conditions. The first stage is cohesion in a situation. With the onset of high-intensity extreme factors the internal links within a group sharply intensify; it is not only the need for mutual assistance that acts as the motive force but also the need to develop a common viewpoint on what is happening. Here we see the phenomenon that might be called compensating reaction, when particular elements of the group organization and the motives for joint activity compensate for the unsuitability of traditional structures to the extreme conditions (it is a question of groups of specialists in which there is an official division and hierarchy of roles).

In groups with inadequate clear-cut organization but high motivational activity (junior specialists attracted by the "heroic romanticism") the "situation leader" coordinates the initial work. Over time he acquires the skills of control, his comrades recognize his authority, and the necessary organizational structure is established in the collective. In groups with stable links but poor motivation, the authoritative style of control, which compensates for inadequate motivation, is rapidly asserted in the expected activity (specialists with experience of joint work in extreme conditions and a developed sense of self-preservation).

Stage two is setting standards. The more complex, tense and dangerous the conditions in which the specialists are working, the more rapidly and deeply the structure of relations is modified and the normativ-assessment scale simplified. For all specialists without exception, professional and "human" reliability is put first among the requirements of a partner. Each partner must, first, resolve the tasks that arise in a skillful way, and second, must always be ready to go to the aid of and provide moral support for his comrade. At this stage, the group is finally consolidated and rid of all those who do not match up to these requirements.

At the same time, the changes taking place can take a different direction depending on the main content of the activity, namely socially important goals or concern for one's own survival. Let me recall two well-known movies to illustrate this. The first is F. Coppola's "Apocalypse Now": under the influence of the war in Vietnam the main hero is quickly transformed from a civilized person into a maniacal killer obsessed by a Genghis Khan complex. An outwardly similar but essentially opposite situation is shown in E. Klimov's film "Go and Look": partisans are fighting in terrible conditions but awareness of the justice of their cause not only protects them against degradation but also promotes the moral growth of the film's heroes.

Stage three is cohesion in activity. The specialist's adaptation to extreme conditions is complete and the social-psychological situation has stabilized relatively. Efficiency in professional activity will be at its highest right through until the effect of extreme factors ends or until there is a sharp change in the set of factors.

"And We Descend from the Heights That Have Been Conquered"

On the social and psychological planes the most dramatic events take place after the cessation of extreme effects and the return to normal life.

The process of re-adaptation, that is, the transition from the "extreme" to the "norm" has remained virtually unconsidered by researchers. While the first priority was achieving results at any cost, all changes in the personality and group were studied only from the viewpoint of their effect on the final result. Accordingly, the picture of the "hero after the battle" was painted exclusively in rosy hues. The real situation differs significantly from this picture. The main trend is that the scale and nature of the re-adaptation process depend directly on the intensity and duration of the extreme effect, the amount of professional and social experience that the specialist has, and the motives for his activity. (Here and hereinafter we shall be dealing with social and professional experience acquired before work in extreme conditions).

Specialists with a minimum level of professional and social experience who crave success adapt most rapidly to intensive extreme stresses. The very activity is for them a method of self-realization, a means of achieving social recognition. As a rule, such people lack any professional sense of danger and therefore many of their colleagues' actions seem to them to be unjustified and senseless. This creates grounds for conflicts and failure to adopt group standards. During the initial stages these specialists frequently isolate themselves from their comrades or form groupings gravitating toward the official leader. The effectiveness of their activity depends directly on the nature of the extreme conditions. It is highest when an extraordinary situation lasts only for a short time. Otherwise these people must be provided with constant incentive, first and foremost by means of official encouragement. If the methods of their activity culminate in success they quickly become rigid stereotypes. Accordingly, when extreme stresses are prolonged but the factors change, their work begins to break down. Lack of encouragement in this period is perceived as unfairness on the part of the leader and attempts are made to establish closer contacts with the group, and disregard of the official leader is displayed. Subsequently these kinds of oscillations between spontaneous heroism and disillusioned passivity can occur repeatedly.

This category of specialists survives the process of re-adaptation dramatically. The very fact that they have worked in extreme conditions is regarded consciously or unconsciously as a right to special status in normal life, which those around them must recognize; the more intense and prolonged the stress, the higher the claim. In this connection the results of a poll of people who had just been in serious circumstances are typical. These people naturally underscored the importance of what they had done and the difficulties encountered, which in their opinion indisputably proves their right to some

special status. Another thing is curious. In an overwhelming majority of cases (86 to 92 percent) if the interviewer expressed any kind of doubt about the correctness of the opinion expressed by the respondent then he immediately started to show that the assessment of him was not only not too high but even understated. Correspondingly, the greater the gap between the expectation and the reality the more energetically the right to special status is defended. For these people the referent group is the one to which they belonged in the extreme conditions. Having become accustomed to simplified standards and assessments of actions, and to mutual assistance, mutual survival and candor, the person is surprised to find that the long-awaited normal life is complicated by numerous nuances and ambiguous standards, in short, by circumstances that camouflage real relations between people. As illustration let us consider several examples of dealings with internationalist-soldiers.

A 23-year-old sergeant of the airborne forces says the following: "When I returned home, for a long time I could not understand what those around me were discussing with such passion. I wanted to shout: how can you not understand that all this is just trivia and you should be ashamed to talk about it? At first, in order to avoid hearing this muddiness and becoming unhinged, we did not mix in company, listened to our own songs, and simply remained silent about ourselves... Then I began to grow accustomed to things, but I could not have the same attitude as before my service..."

The 24-year-old driver of an armored personnel carrier: "I came back, got my breath and became depressed: was this what I had been dreaming about for 2 years? Some kind of continuous concern with trivial things and what people are doing and how they are acting and what their relationships are. What you are, what you are not—this goes unnoticed..."

Some people do settle down and resign themselves to the existing state of things while others find like-thinkers and begin to fight everything that seems unfair using their own resources, and yet others try to forget the past. But one thing is common to all these people, namely, a gradually growing conviction that in fact normal human relations are shaped precisely in extreme conditions.

The re-adaptation of specialists with a relatively rich social and professional experience and a broad range of motives occurs differently. During the initial stages numerous mistakes and conflicts with leadership are typical; the presence of ingrained stereotypes, claims to high status and a developed sense of self-preservation have their effect. Later, the results of their activity improve and as a rule depend little on changes in the extreme conditions. During prolonged extreme stresses lasting more than 2 months the orientation of these specialists is focused on the family and their usual social circle. Efficiency in the activity declines but remains quite high. Representatives of this group rarely "shine"

in their work and they are not given to spontaneous heroism but their reliability is the guarantee of successful work by the entire collective. As an illustration let me cite the opinion of the commander of a fire-fighting unit about one of the section commanders: "His favorite pastimes are fishing and being with his children; he has two. On training exercises you do not expect initiative from him but in a combat situation I do not know a more reliable operator."

Re-adaptation of these specialists is virtually devoid of any sharply dramatic moments. This is, first, because of the diversity of behavioral habits, and second because of their firm orientation on normal life. Such specialists are people who are predominantly older and their proportion is not large among those who work in extreme conditions.

We have described two almost polarized types of specialist. Between these two poles there is an endless range of variety, of real fates of real people.

Models of Professionalism

How is the specialist shaped for work in extreme conditions? By now several concepts have been proposed for this kind of activity. Each model also prefers its own type of specialist.

The hero-executor. The basis of this approach is absolutization of the goals of future activity and total neglect of the price at which the goal is reached. In line with this, people with excessive needs for self-realization and even pure fanatics (as a rule religious fanatics) are selected. The professional training itself is kept to a minimum. Most attention is focused on maintaining the necessary level of motivation since the executor is virtually being condemned to death. For those who stand behind this kind of system it is important not only to achieve a specific goal but also use a given act for propaganda purposes. This model is quite widespread: the kamikazes (suicide pilots) and the kaiten (human torpedoes) in the Japanese army in 1943-1945, and the Islamic militia in Iran's present-day armed forces.

The aggressive individualist. This approach is based on a firm connection between the results of a specialist's activity and the possibility of his physical survival. Training is done in two stages. The first stage is moral and physical terror that break down the existing circumstances and the stereotypes of individuality and promote aggression. In parallel with this the person's individualism is developed through constant fierce competition between members of a team and weeding out those who cannot cope.³ The second stage is in-depth professional training and instilling a sense of belonging to an elite group. This kind of specialist operates most successfully in conditions in which it is possible to display his own superiority and affiliation with an elite. It is a noteworthy fact that American television broadcasts of detachments of marines taking part in the seizure of Grenada

were shown under the general headline of "The Elite." In the event that the method of "aggressive assertiveness" fails to work out, effectiveness in activity falls sharply. Several failures following one after another can and do lead to professional degradation.

Today, this model is popular not only in the United States where it was born, but also in most West European states and in many of the Latin American countries. Extensive use of this type of specialist gives rise to serious social problems, first and foremost the problem of the social responsibility of the professionals. Their orientation not on socially important but elitist-group values leads to the circumstance that in situations where achieving social goals conflicts with group goals the choice is made in favor of the latter. Major industrial accidents in recent years, when by saving their own lives and health personnel failed to take the necessary steps to prevent ruinous consequences, clearly demonstrate the social danger of this kind of re-orientation.

There is another problem associated with the effect of "aggressive individualists" on the social structure. While designed to stabilize the system, members of the armed forces and the police themselves start to commit violations of the law and crimes, and thus promote increased conflict. The fact is that the need for success as an indispensable condition for belonging to an elite, combined with a conviction of freedom from moral and other standards that interfere with the achieving of a goal, gives rise to a desire constantly to reproduce extreme conditions. One of the basic means for doing this is aggression against those who cannot deliver any decisive rebuff.

A third model is the *operational-humanistic* one. This is based on structural analysis of activity and the idea of the need for close interconnection between the specialist and society. Psychological and physiological and sociopsychological criteria form the basis of selection. The task is to determine whether or not a person is capable of carrying out specific operations and enduring extreme stresses without harm to himself or harm arising from the results of his activity. Actual training for specialists is carried out in two directions. First there is operations training, made up of professional activity and accustomation to extreme stresses. Various means are used for this, from electronic simulators to assault zones and "moral-and-psychological test grounds." Second, the level of social motivation in the specialist is raised, that is, the mutual link between personal and societal goals in the upcoming activity.^{4, 5}

The main advantage of this model is its humanistic emphasis, which is seen not only in concern for the person of the specialist but also in strengthening his ties with the "extra-extreme" social structures. At the same time, there are also serious shortcomings here. Training for specific, concrete operations that shapes quite inflexible stereotypes is justified only in a case in which extreme situations will be short-lived or when working with quite simple equipment. Meanwhile, extreme factors often grow in a labyrinthine fashion. Under these conditions what is required of the specialist is not so much automatic actions but rather the ability to make nontrivial decisions. The effect of "accustomation" (habituation) to extreme stresses is also very limited. The

set of factors subject to modeling is narrow and as a rule reflects only 5, poorly activity in extraordinary circumstances. pp 240-241

But the most significant shortcoming is the following: results from our research show that the absence of real danger and at the same time the public nature of training exercises shape stereotypes of demonstration behavior rather than accustomation to extreme stress. All learner drivers are aware of the stress experienced when sitting at the wheel of a real car rather than a simulator, and when the instructor leaves and they now drive the vehicle on their own. Until the driver can deal with a real situation on the road, for him driving will be a continuous chain of extreme situations. And this is a very simple case. The transition is much more complicated when moving from unarmed combat training to use of these same methods to deal with an armed opponent, or when moving from shooting at targets to the combat use of weapons.

Not Supermen, Just People

Society's global dependence on decisions taken in extreme conditions requires the construction of a new model for shaping a new type of specialist. These people now hold in their hands the kinds of facilities where one false step can lead to catastrophe with unforeseen consequences. Hence, the main and most important quality for a person working in extreme conditions should be awareness of his high social responsibility. The accident at Chernobyl, the sinking of the steamship "Admiral Nakhimov," and railroad catastrophe at the Kamenka station all provide tragic confirmation of the fact that real professionalism is inconceivable without social responsibility. In short, for people whose work is associated with the possibility of the onset of extreme situations, social interests should be higher than mere group or even personal interests.

The second most important quality for such specialists is developed creative abilities. As the number of extreme factors is constantly growing, and, this means, the unpredictability of a specific course of events grows, so too the role of basically new decisions made during the process of activity also grows.

Finally, work in extreme conditions is usually collective by nature. Results from activity are determined largely by the efficiency with which the members of the group interact. Consequently, the specialist must possess developed powers of communication.

The three base characteristics, namely, a high sense of responsibility and developed creative abilities and powers of communication, determine the *social suitability* (readiness) of a person for work in extreme conditions. Today, most attention is being focused on a person's psychological and physical features in the selection and training of specialists. Developments in technology and medicine are opening up extensive opportunities here.

Very great importance attaches to the develop of methods for the re-adaptation of specialists working in extreme situations. But the basis of a new (fourth) model for professional activity under present-day conditions should be the idea of the specialist's social suitability.

This kind of approach assumes the development of effective methods for diagnosing the main social characteristics of the individual. Meanwhile, up to now the opinion still prevails that the indicators here should be grades achieved in studying social disciplines, the degree of participation in public work and so forth. In my opinion the base for initiating such studies could be the work of G.Ye. Zalesskiy on the shaping of convictions.⁶ A new ideology is needed for test trials that would be oriented on revealing and assessing the personal qualities that are most important for upcoming activity and on neutralizing the demonstration effect. Finally, the prerequisite both for successful actions in extreme situations and for preventing them is the shaping of a high level of psychological standards in the population. This should include not only knowledge but also the ability to regulate one's own condition.

The main obstacle on the road of developing new approaches to extreme situations is the preservation in the public awareness of old stereotypes and dogmatism in thinking. The threat of technogenic and ecological (not to mention nuclear) catastrophe requires the abandonment of group, departmental and egotistical interests. It is essential to understand that there is an invisible but firm link between how a person who is an operator at a nuclear power station behaves in a critical situation and the lessons that he learned in the family and at school and in his neighborhood. It is essential to understand that humanism is not some abstraction but a condition of universal survival. And to recognize that in very complex situations those who will act are not supermen but ordinary people.

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Children of Divorce

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[Article by Vladimir Vladimirovich Solodnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences, chief of the sociology laboratory at the Ryazselmash Production Association; published previously in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA: "A New Form of Assistance for the Young Family" (No 1, 1985, as co-author); "The Pre-Divorce Situation in the Young Family" (No 4, 1986); "On the Eve of Divorce" (No 1, 1988)]

[Text] Over the past 10 years the annual number of divorces in our country has varied between 900,000 and 945,000. As a result, each year about 700,000 children aged under 18 experience the complex situation associated with the divorce of their parents.¹

How do children cope with the breakup of the family? Scientific data (primarily Soviet data) throwing light on this problem are manifestly inadequate.

In this article we shall analyze the opinions of experts who are women—teachers in children's preschool establishments and students studying preschool education at night school. A total of 87 persons was polled. The average age of the experts was 34.6 and the average seniority in kindergarten 13.5 years. Some 83 percent of the women polled were married and 89 percent have children (one child 41 percent, 2 children 46 percent and three or more children 2 percent). Some 71 percent of the

experts grew up in two-parent families; 62 percent were residents of Ryazan and the remainder lived in various populated points in the oblast.

Let us first consider those questions on which virtually all experts were unanimous in their responses. First, the overwhelming majority think that the divorce of the parents does in one way or another affect the behavior of preschool children. Second, the same unanimous opinion prevailed that it is easiest for children aged under 2 years to live through the breakup of the family (2 percent of women "extended" this age to 6 years). Finally, 82 percent of those polled shared the viewpoint that the birth and rearing of children helps to strengthen the family (10 percent were convinced that the opposite is true and the remainder were undecided).

The assessment of the post-divorce period was less unanimous. Thus, 76 percent of respondents think that when she re-marries a woman has to deal with new complexities in the rearing of the preschool child, while 17 percent hold opposing views and the remainder had difficulty in answering.

It turned out that in general those polled were inadequately informed about problems in the rearing of children after the parents have been divorced. For example, just under half the experts do not know whether or not it is easy for the children of different marriages to get along in one family; the opinion of the remainder was split almost equally: 18 percent think that it is easy and 21 percent think it is not. Another 18 percent of respondents noted the significance of particular mediating factors (the age of the child, the character of the parents, the individual features of child and parents).

It is known from practical legal work that in an overwhelming majority of cases children remain with the mother after divorce. The sharp debate that has been initiated on the pages of many mass publications about the father's involvement in the education of the children after the breakup of the family has revealed a broad range of mutual claims by former spouses. And what is the position assumed here by the practicing professional?

The spread of responses testifies to the fact that many support the fathers. From the standpoint of 37 percent of those polled, for successful rearing of the child remaining with the mother, meetings with the father are essential. Only 8 percent disagreed with this statement. At the same time, more than half of respondents suggest that such meetings can be of use only under certain conditions, and, moreover, despite the vagueness of this formulation, in most cases the demands made relate to the father ("if he is not socially dangerous," "if he deserves this," "if he is a good father," "if he is sober," "review what kind of father he is" and so forth); more rarely are demands made relative to the circumstances of the meetings themselves ("if the meetings are regular"), and only one demand is made relative to both parents ("review the kind of parents they are").

Although most experts agree that it is essential for all children to see their father, regardless of their sex or age, some preference is nevertheless given to boys (24 percent) and also to young schoolchildren and teenagers (11 percent). About 20 percent of female respondents did not respond to this question.

If the experts think that boys need meetings with their father more than girls, this means that they evidently take the breakup of the family harder. In order to test this hypothesis it was suggested that respondents name the behavioral reactions of preschool children to their parents' divorce and the features of character that are formed in the child under the influence of this event.

Table 1. Reactions of Preschool Children to the Divorce of Their Parents. Number of experts noting a particular stance

Reaction*	Nature of reaction**	Boys	Girls
Is sad about father; misses (father); looks forward to meetings with parents	W	21	19
Reserved; plays alone; becomes more reserved	W	10	10
Weeping; tearfulness	W	2	6
Inattention during lessons; absent-mindedness	W	2	4
Heightened melancholy	W	2	1
Lack of confidence	W	1	3
Misbehavior; child is spoilt (mother spoils child)	W	4	6
Aggressiveness (sometimes) (toward people) (after divorce of parents); pugnacity; animosity; impudence; stubbornness	S	24	4
Nervousness; feeling nervous	S	18	12
Behavior deteriorates; excitability; disobedience; behavioral derangements; lack of restraint; unbalanced condition	S	11	—
Desire to protect mother	S	1	—
Grows closer to grandfather and uncles; shows affection for estranged father; lacks dealings with men; asks questions about father	?	15	1
Talks badly about father	?	7	—
Pining	?	—	1
Boys take the situation harder; take separation from father harder than girls	?	7	—
Fantasize (talk about what does not exist); (talk about their fathers); invent things	?	4	—
"Divided" between father and mother; child is torn between father and mother	?	2	—
Sensitivity (for no reason)	?	8	7

* Exact wording of other responses is shown in parentheses ** Arbitrary signs of reactions: "S" = strong, "W" = weak, "?" signifies indeterminate. When applying a reaction to a particular type the definition of weak is used as a nervous-psychological weakness seen as a higher level of lassitude... and exhaustion, with a lowering of the threshold of sensitivity, extreme instability of mood and sleep impairments.²

As has already been noted, virtually all experts are convinced that reaction to the existing situation is seen in one way or another in the children's behavior, but it is the opinion of 25 percent of those polled that there are no grounds for talking about the formation of some kind of special features of character in children connected with their parents' divorce. At the same time, while noting the features of character in a particular child in their care, the teachers often explained how these features are reflected in behavior. Accordingly, when constructing Table 1 we used the responses to two questions.

It can be seen from Table 1 that children do in fact respond painfully to the breakup of the family and the experience of what has occurred is seen in various forms in the behavior of the child, and has an effect on its character. Here, among boys behavioral reactions are noted 1.5 times more often than among girls. Moreover, an extremely marked type of reaction is seen according to sex (see Table 2 below). Thus, in boys strong reactions predominate aimed "outward" (going as far as aggressiveness), while in girls it is the weak reactions that dominate (absent-mindedness, being reserved, tearfulness and so forth).

Table 2. How Preschool Children React to the Divorce of Their Parents, %

Type of Reaction	Boys	Girls
Strong	40	15
Weak	30	63
Indeterminate	30	22

When analyzing the results obtained it is essential to take into account one important feature. All the figures cited above implicitly contain the assumption that the experts constitute a uniform group and that therefore their individual differences are canceled out. In reality, however, the attitude of each teacher to the problem of "divorce and children" depends largely not only on professional affiliation but also on the "family ideology" that they profess and their personal experience of life. Comparison of responses that were given by different groups of experts to general questions (should an unsuccessful marriage be continued for the sake of the children? are meetings with the father necessary after divorce? can the mother alone successfully raise a son or daughter?) reveals remarkable patterns.

First, workers in kindergartens in Ryazan are more optimistic in assessing the parenting efforts of the woman alone (64 percent in favor, 18 percent against) than those who live in populated points in the oblast (42 percent and 42 percent respectively).

Second, both the younger (up to 35) and more experienced teachers responded in about the same key to all three questions, but here the somewhat older and, if we may express it thus, somewhat wiser, respondents were more categorical in their opinions (the proportion of undecided respondents or those who declined to answer was 56 percent, 71 percent and 22 percent among the former and 16 percent, 45 percent and 9 percent respectively among the latter).

Finally, a dependence exists between the views of respondents on particular problems of family and marriage relations and the conditions in which those actually participating in the poll of experts were raised (the exception being the responses on the permissibility of meetings with the father after the divorce). Thus, women whose childhood was in a family with an unusual structure (without the father or mother, not with their own parents and so forth) more frequently reject the need to preserve a marriage for the sake of the children if the spouses are unhappy in the marriage (47 percent) than those who were raised in a complete family (29 percent). And they are more categorical in their opinions (undecided responses were 24 percent and 41 percent respectively). Moreover, destroying the structure of the parental family frequently leads (at least after some time) to an exclusively maternal upbringing. It is therefore quite natural that the respondents from such families are more optimistic when considering the upbringing of children

by the mother alone. Some 76 percent of this category of respondents assess positively the feasibility of raising children without the father, while 12 percent respond in the negative. (Those who grew up in a wo-parent made up 50 percent and 32 percent respectively of these).

Despite the fact that most of those participating in the expert group that we polled had solid seniority in their work (an average of 13.5 years), the data obtained must be approached with some caution. When giving particular assessments of various aspects of the "divorce and children" problem the teachers were guided by common sense, different stereotypes and their experience of life.

For example, while unanimously recognizing that the breakup of the family is reflected in the behavior of preschool children, respondents at the same time asserted that at precisely this age (up to 3 years) psychological traumas are sustained more easily by a child. This latter agrees entirely with the results of a poll of young fathers and mothers in Czechoslovakia. But this was the opinion of the parents; a special study of the children found that often their behavior can be classified as traumatic or even deprivation behavior.³ Reliable data are available on a deteriorating status of children's health aged from 1 to 3 years from single-parent families, including those in which the mother alone remains with the child after divorce.⁴ In short, there is an obvious contradiction between the scientific data and the experience of life. Judging from the responses of our respondents, they had a significant desire to resolve this contradiction in favor of the latter. This is largely helped by the fact that scientific study of this problem is in an overwhelming majority of cases focused on deviant behavior in teenagers, that is, actually on one of the most important manifestations of "deviation" in the process of socialization. It is often said (particularly in the popular scientific literature) that many "difficult" children are raised without a father. While granting the possibility of this connection, it must be emphasized that "unhappiness" in a teenager is established at an earlier age since breakup of the family and its transfer to the category of single-parent family is usually noted after marriages of short duration.

Thus, recognizing that divorce of the parents is "optimal" when the child is aged under 3 years is not in agreement with available scientific data, according to which children's mastery of their own sexual role by means of identification with the parent of the same sex is most marked between the age of 5 to 7 years in boys and 3 to 8 years in girls.^{5, p 67}

Accordingly, the normal process of sexual socialization is possible either by maintaining and supporting good relations between former spouses after divorce (which is not very often seen) or by the woman re-marrying and the establishment of filial relations between the stepfather and the child. However, even the experts themselves admit that a second marriage for a woman with a child usually creates additional difficulties in upbringing. Moreover, according to data from a special study that we conducted, only 6 percent of young divorced women are ready to marry again immediately after divorce, and 34 percent are not ready to remarry in the foreseeable future

(for a description of this excerpt see bibliographic reference 6). According to calculations done by V.A. Belovaya, "after 10 years following the first marriage, about three-fourths of those whose marriage was dissolved before they reached the age of 25 and slightly more than half of those who ended their marriage when aged 25 to 29 enter into a second marriage."⁷ Thus, impairment in the process of mastering the appropriate sexual role during the period of its greatest intensity is experienced by preschool children whose parents are divorced.

The opinion of the experts that boys take the breakup of the parental family harder than girls also does not quite match available data, according to which sexual identification precisely for girls (but not for boys) depends largely both on the nature of the relationship between the mother and the father and on emotionally warm and trusting contacts with the parent of the same sex.^{5, p 68} At the same time, compared with married women, divorced mothers are significantly more often in conflict with their sons than with their daughters.⁸ One of the reasons for this situation, which is extremely widespread in single-parent families, is, in our opinion, the fact that the divorced woman subscribes to a definite "implicit theory of personality" according to which the son "inherits" the character traits and behavioral features of the father. As a result the mother transfers (not always consciously) her negative attitude toward her former husband to the child.

With regard to sex differences found by the experts in the reactions of preschool children to divorce, these observations match the conclusions from other studies. In fact, for boys aggression, disobedience and deviant behavior are more typical, while anxiety, depression and neurotic reactions are more typical of girls.⁹

True, even here one point causes doubt. We have in mind the supposed specific reaction of boys to divorce of the parents shown in active interest in adult males (see Table 1). First, in all children, by about the seventh month of life a marked desire is observed for interaction with adults, including unknown adults.¹⁰ Second, already by the age of 3 to 7 years sex differences are seen in children during the process of socialization: sociometric preferences are given to children of the same age and sex in the overwhelming majority of cases. And when offering justification for the choice of friends in games with the opposite sex, together with the general "requirements" (the ability not to quarrel, not to be greedy and so forth) boys note in girls qualities such as prettiness, tenderness and affection, while girls note strength and the ability to stick up for them and so forth in boys.¹¹ Finally, it is necessary to consider the following circumstance: "... most children in the middle and older groups in kindergarten and the first grade possess suggestibility when influenced by effects."¹² It is therefore possible that the expectations of parents made on their children are easily justified and the teachers "see what they want to see" while in fact the behavior of the children corresponds to the cultural stereotypes of masculinity and

femininity that they have learned. It is not happenstance that strong reactions to the divorce of parents is noted in boys (corresponding to the norm of masculinity) while weak forms are seen in girls (the norm of femininity).

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Problems Concerning Correctness of Labor Participation Coefficient

18060002i Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88 (signed
to press 8 Jul 88) pp 71-73

[Article by Nikolay Alekseyevich Sviridov, candidate of philosophical sciences, chief of the sociology research laboratory at the Far Eastern State University; published previously in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA ("Social Adaptation of the Individual in the Collective." (No 3, 1980))]

[Text] During 1986-1987 the sociology laboratory of the Far Eastern State University studied about 90 brigades in construction trusts of the Vladivostok Housing Construction Combine and Sudpromstroy. The total number of respondents was 855 persons, or 18.2 percent of the total number of workers in the two construction trusts. The brigades studied were relatively small and were mainly specialized rather than all-purpose. Typical brigades employed in basic production processes were studied. In terms of its structure the sample was close to the structure of the entire overall aggregate (the workers in these trusts).

In most of the collectives studied there was a brigade form for wages according to a unified schedule, with the use of a labor participation coefficient (KTU), and this applied not only to bonuses and additional payments but to all wages in general. The attitude of respondents to wages taking KTU into account was characterized by the following figures: 58.5 percent approved and preferred wages with a KTU in the Vladivostok Housing Construction Combine, while the figure for Sudpromstroy was 52.9 percent. The number of brigades with a positive attitude toward KTU and preferring this form of wages was rather higher at more than 70 percent. Other workers preferred the forms of wages that exclude consideration and application of a KTU.

It is important to investigate the motives for a positive or negative attitude toward KTU. The primary motive in the responses where the reasons for a negative attitude were indicated, was arguments associated with violation of the principle of a fair wage according to the quantity and quality of labor. Those workers disapproving of KTU explained this as follows: "This form is not always fair and the KTU is often lowered way off the mark," "KTU is not applied as it should be, not everything is taken into account" and so forth. Remember that KTU is designed precisely to produce a more complete embodiment of the principle of social justice. But in the opinion of many workers its application leads to... violation of the principle of fair wages according to the quantity and quality of labor. A paradox? In fact it is a contradiction that exists between the opportunity to take into account the actual contribution made by each brigade member to the final results of the collective's labor and the lack of any adequate form for calculating that individual contribution. Let me explain my thought. What indicators

are taken into account when determining the size of the KTU? In the opinion of the workers about 60 percent of the indicators characterize the direct attitude toward labor. They include effort, conscientiousness, quality of work done and labor discipline. This kind of set can scarcely cause objections since it is precisely these characteristics that determine the actual labor contribution of the worker and they are directly linked to the final results of the brigade's labor. Respondents went on to name the indicators for skills, initiative (rationalization activity), and mutual assistance in work, including help for young workers. These social characteristics also affect KTU and final results and should not result in censure on the part of the workers. Let us, however, consider the attribute of skills, on which the quality of labor directly depends. It is common knowledge that skills should entail the skill category of work and the functional content of work operations. But this is not so. The study showed that work of the same complexity and same type is often performed by workers with different skill levels. And the work is done at the same level of quality. But when the KTU is determined, skills and skill category automatically result in an additional payment! This is how the dissatisfaction arises: "We do virtually the same work but the difference in skill categories are great," "Everyone does the same work regardless of skill category but we are paid according to skill category," "Wages are different for the same work" and so forth. Those dissatisfied with the application of KTU, and hence with the size of wages, include a majority with a relatively low skill category. Those with a high skill category are also dissatisfied because they do work that does not require their level of skill category. It turns out that in one case there is no incentive to gain a higher skill level, while in the other (which is more frequent) no consideration is given to the conditions and difficulty of the labor but only to skill category and skills. This is how the workers themselves perceive this: "They do not pay us according to labor," "We work a great deal but get paid little; if we work little we get paid just as much," "It is leveling!"

The KTU should reflect the actual individual contribution of the worker to the overall results for a brigade. In fact it turns out that this contribution depends not only on his efforts but also on the objective conditions of production, which do not permit the individual attitude toward work to be considered in the KTU. Thus, the principle of wages according to a quantity and quality of labor is being transformed into a socially unjust form of wages.

Interpersonal relations and the moral and psychological climate in the collective affect the production situation, people's attitudes, and ultimately KTU. But how to determine the measure of their effect? How, for example, to establish a degree of "rightness" or "blame" attached to a particular worker in given conflict situations and then calculate the dependence of the indicators for the brigade's work on these violations? The task can hardly be resolved.

In order to improve economic management it is extremely important to answer the following question: how can the opportunity inherent in KTU be used to realize most fully the principle of social justice in wages for labor—the principle of socialist justice? There is a way to do this, and the means are also available! They are to be found in making improvements in production democracy, which was what, in particular, prompted our study. We established a close connection between a positive or negative attitude toward KTU as a function of who precisely plays the decisive role in determining its size. This is what we found: when the question of the size of KTU is decided by a meeting of the brigade collective the number of those approving is 89 percent; if the size of KTU is determined by the brigade council this figure is 75 percent; if the main role is played by the brigade leader, the proportion of those approving the KTU is 62 percent; and if the final word in determining KTU rests with the foreman while the collective is virtually excluded, then the number approving the KTU falls to 44 percent. A remarkable fact! Thus, the more democratic the forms for resolving the question of the size of KTU the greater the guarantee that justice will be served, and hence the higher the degree of satisfaction on the part of the worker with the very principle of distribution. The greater the democracy, collegiality and objectivity in the discussion the greater the belief of the individual in fairness in resolving the question of the size of his individual contribution to the overall results and in the principle of reward for labor input itself. Herein lie the sociopsychological mechanisms for belief in the collective. But it is not that simple.

It is apropos to cite the assessment made of the effectiveness of meetings conducted interest brigades. Some 24.5 percent of those polled answered that the meetings are useful and help to improve the work; but one-fourth thinks that the meetings offer nothing and are not useful; almost half of respondents (41.6 percent) think that the meetings are sometimes useful and sometimes not. The remaining 9.4 percent had difficulty in responding. We see that there is still a large number of workers who do not think that meetings are effective and believe that they are a waste of time. Why? Analysis shows that the main reason is the poor execution of decisions adopted at the meetings (almost 25 percent of respondents made reference to this). In the opinion of the workers most of the important decisions (those relating primarily to questions of organization and wages, social and everyday conditions in production, and supplies of equipment and materials) depend not on the brigade itself but on the construction administrations and trusts. Many complaints were voiced about the inattention of managers to comments and proposals from workers. Administration and trust managers are rare guests at the brigade meetings. This reduces the effectiveness of the meetings and many are losing faith in production democracy.

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Out of Town Students in Moscow and Leningrad Vocational and Technical Schools

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(signed to press 8 Jul 88) pp 73-74

[Article by Yevgeniy Yakovlevich Butko and Nikolay Aleksandrovich Denisov, who work at the RSFSR Gosplan Central Economics Scientific Research Institute; Butko is a senior economist; Denisov is a candidate of economic sciences and sector chief; they are published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA for the first time"]

[Text] Over the past decades the needs of the national economies of Moscow and Leningrad and of a number of capitals in the republics for cadres has been largely met by recruiting workers from out of town—the "allocated people" [limitchiki]. Now we have set a course aimed at using internal resources. The numbers of those arriving have declined significantly. However, the limiting measures have had less effect on another channel used to augment the working class with young people from outside the cities, namely, the vocational and technical schools. A study conducted at a number of vocational and technical schools in Moscow and Leningrad has revealed that during the 11th Five-Year Plan 50.3 percent of the enrollment in vocational and technical schools in Moscow was accounted for by young people from outside the city, while the figure for Leningrad was 56.4 percent. These proportions are being maintained year after year, and in our view this points to the existence of objective prerequisites here.

For a number of professions worker training has taken place virtually completely through the newcomers because young people in "capital" cities do not themselves want to learn them. This applies first and foremost to the construction and textile specialties, and also to professions connected with the food industry. Thus, 88.1 percent of those enrolled in construction vocational and technical schools in Moscow and 86.2 percent in Leningrad have been people from out of town, while the corresponding figures for textile schools are 95.7 percent and 90.6 percent, and they include virtually none of the inhabitants of Leningrad or Moscow oblasts. And even though schools teaching machine-building disciplines have fewer young people from out of town, here too people from out of town are in a majority for a number of professions. Thus, during the period 1981-1985 of the total numbers enrolled in the vocational and technical schools in Leningrad providing training for occupations associated with machine building, only 28.8 percent were local people. Taking into account the exceptional importance of machine-building enterprises in these cities for the country's national economy this position cannot be deemed normal.

The situation that has taken shape determined the vocational and technical schools that were selected for study, namely, seven construction schools, three textile schools,

four food industry and one machine-building. A total of 566 students from out of town were polled in Moscow, and 509 in Leningrad. It turned out that the main "suppliers" of young men and women for enrollment in the vocational and technical training system in the capital are the Central, Central Chernozem and Povolzskiy economic regions. No young people from the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus region, which have manpower surpluses, had enrolled in the schools studied. The small number of people from the nearby oblasts of the Northwest and Central regions and the great inflow of people from Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk krais, Sverdlovsk and Irkutsk oblasts and the Komi ASSR was somewhat unexpected for Leningrad. Virtually no representatives of the Baltic republics were among those enrolling in vocational and technical schools in Moscow and Leningrad.

The results of the study show that the process of filling the vocational and technical schools is virtually unregulated and is largely random in nature. Vocational and technical training organs in Moscow and Leningrad are conducting virtually no vocational guidance work in other oblasts among schoolchildren, and when it is being done it is ineffective. Thus, only 4.2 percent of those studied from out of town enrolled in the vocational and technical schools in Moscow had received information about the profession or the school from a representative of the vocational and technical school who had traveled to their school (the figure for Leningrad is 5.9 percent). Typically, in both cities only about 17 percent of those polled indicated that the desire to acquire the profession they had chosen had been one of the reasons for the move. An overwhelming majority could train for their specialty where they live but had preferred to move.

An absolute majority of young people from out of town choose their professions randomly, being guided most often by a single aim, namely, a desire to live and work either in the capital or in Leningrad. After working there for a few years and receiving their residence permit, and sometimes simply at the very first chance, many of them switch specialties. The result is a continuation of the acute shortage of working cadres.

The results of the study make it possible to outline several measures aimed at weakening these negative processes. First and foremost, taking into account the specific nature of the demographic situation in Moscow and Leningrad and the employment level for the population and its social makeup, a certain inflow of young people from out of town must be recognized as inevitable in the years immediately ahead. But here it is essential to reduce to a minimum enrollment in the vocational and technical schools by young people from those regions of the RSFSR and other republics where there is a manpower shortage, while simultaneously activating vocational guidance work by schools in Moscow and Leningrad for schoolchildren from regions with manpower surpluses.

The permanent shortage of workers for a number of specialties in Moscow and Leningrad indicated by the results of the study makes it possible draw yet another conclusion, namely, that there are no prospects for further extensive development here of the food and textile industries. Under these conditions, plans for the reconstruction of those enterprises and for their socioeconomic development should take into account the inevitable reduction in the numbers employed there and seek out reserves for increasing corresponding production in some other place.

The Sociologist Recommends the Director
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[Article by Vladimir Ilich Kulagin, sociologist at the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry Altaypressmash Production Association; here published for the first time in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] The scheme for elections that is being used with increasing frequency in Altay Kray today is as follows: a poll of the labor collective (revealing the potential leaders); a study of candidates and of their suitability for the post; elections to the labor collective. This approach was first used at the Barnaul Mechanical Press Plant in June 1986. A poll was conducted at the initiative of the CPSU Altay Kraykom. The questionnaire distributed among members of the collective briefly explained the reasons for the elections and asked for the names of a candidate (or candidates) from among the enterprise workers. The following point was also made: if no suitable candidate could be nominated then it would be necessary to look outside. In addition, we now ask respondents to indicate their job. The aim is to clarify the positions of the various social-professional groups. In addition, not everyone but rather the most authoritative members of the labor collectives are polled. After processing, the data are immediately published.

This is, so to speak, the standard scheme for the poll. Usually the party committee organizing the poll proceeds from the specific situation and makes particular amendments. Workers in the party organs study the candidates and agree them with the main administrations or ministries. Discussion of those involved in the competition is a very important stage. Party leaders visit the collectives where the candidates are well known and talk with the workers. In some cases we have resorted to psychological testing of candidates.

The elections proper take place as follows: after nomination the candidates present their programs. Questions follow, and then the vote—open or secret at the discretion of the meeting. In the latter case a list of candidates is prepared in the bulletins, from which it is necessary to select the most worthy. An auditing commission presents the results and the new director is congratulated.

Let us return to the first stage since it is of specialist interest from the viewpoint of applied sociology. An open question used in the questionnaire (write in the name of the preferred candidate) is usually considered less preferable than a set of alternatives (that is, a list of names). However, it is not only and not so much the difficulties of processing. The problem lies elsewhere: can public opinion be adequately expressed in this way; perhaps it becomes the subject of cadre policy?

Even if we are dealing only with an enterprise that does not employ many people only a very self-confident person would be bold enough to assert that he knows every aspect of the activity of the labor collective, without exception. The situation is usually exactly the opposite. Everyone agrees that there are obvious problems, but there is no unanimous opinion about methods to solve them. Each specialist suggests his own way, which on close examination turns out to be a reflection of the position of an individual subdivision or group of people or a partial solution to the task. The lack of success by the authors of numerous "enterprise management systems" that are stillborn is primarily explained by their complexity and cumbersomeness. Such system are simply impossible to introduce because they are based on the illusion of universal manageability and detailed regulation of all the activity of the collective. Meanwhile, management is not simply a set of structures but a process and the interaction of subjects that resolve specific tasks where both sides are equally important—both the subject of management and the so-called object. Why "so-called"? Well, because in reality the latter is also a full-fledged subject with functions other than the former. True, it is still not underpinned by adequate rights. (the law on the state enterprise will make it possible to change much here). From this viewpoint public opinion is a very important channel for managerial influence. In clashes between different opinions and positions the demands made of the manager are sharpened and the primarily tasks of his activity are crystallized. And it would be naive to expect total unity of views here.

Our experience shows that if 50 percent or more of those polled have suggested the same person this is a majority success and we have the sought-for leader! However, the problem is not only adequately to reflect public opinion. The poll often gives an indecisive result: they do not have their own candidate. Almost every time there is but one explanation for this, namely, an obvious deficit in cadre work. The prospective managers were not revealed in good time, or prepared or nominated. And now there is a need and no one can be elected.

In such a case an open competition is usually held. We have gained some experience in this regard. In the summer of 1987 the question of a new director arose at one of the plants in Barnaul; the person occupying the post had resigned. A poll of the collective showed that more than 70 percent could see no worthy candidate at the plant. A commission was formed to conduct a competition. It was

made up of workers in the party raykom, plant representatives, scientists and practical leaders. The work included the following stages: an announcement in the press, a preliminary evaluation of candidates, discussion by the commission of the programs of activity that they had proposed, and the election.

The announcement in the local newspaper contained brief information on the plant and the rules for the competition. Training and the personal and business qualities of the candidates were assessed on the basis of questionnaire data and from the results of testing. Of the 13 submitting applications for interview with the commission, 10 were accepted. Each person was given 10 or 15 minutes to present a report on a program for future activity. The order of presentation was decided by drawing lots. Then the debate started "behind closed doors." We were unable to accomplish our initial intention to link the debate to the conditions of an organizational-activity game. The members of the commission used a special method to evaluate candidates' knowledge of economic, technical and social problems at the enterprise, and also their erudition and ability for strategic thinking (five qualities in all). During the process of the work two undoubted leaders emerged, and on the following day they were presented to the collective. The one who received the most votes became head of the plant.

During the work we encountered two main problems, namely, lack of experience in conducting organizational-activity games, and inadequate information about the candidates. According to the conditions of the competition the commission did not have the right to refer to the enterprises where the candidates had been working; in other words, it was not possible to avoid "a pig in a poke" situation. It had been suggested that significant information would be obtained during the course of the game but, as already noted, the game did not materialize.

Obviously, the result of a competition is determined at least a year after it takes place, when the activity of the new director is reflected in the economic indicators for enterprise operations. Meanwhile we continue to improve the organization of elections and competitions, including by experimental means. For even the meager experience gained indicates that the effectiveness of such measures is greatly increased when sociologists are actively involved in them.

Deviant Behavior in Teenagers

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[Article by Yuriy Ilich Bytko and Aleksandr Solomono-
vich Lando; both are candidates of juridical sciences and
docents at the Saratov Institute of Law imeni D.Yu.
Kurskiy; they are published for the first time in SOT-
SIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] Against the background of a general decline in the
number of crimes in the country the level of infringements
of the law by minors remains high. In some parts of

Saratov over a 2-year period (1985-1986) crime by minors not only failed to decline but even somewhat increased, and the proportion of those who committed crimes categorized as serious (rape, theft, looting, malicious hooliganism and so forth) remained stable at its previous high level—about 70 percent. In recent years there has been an increase in the cases of infringements of the law by children aged 14 to 15. The “juvenescence” of teenage crime is dangerous because early accustomation to criminal acts increases the probability of recidivism. This applies most to those who are sentenced to serve prison terms: two out of three teenagers again break the law after their return from where they are being held.

We polled more than 2,000 students and vocational and technical schools and 8th to 10th grade students in general educational schools in Saratov. The results obtained provide no grounds for complacency.

The underdeveloped nature of cultural needs and impoverishment of the spiritual world constitute one of the reasons for young men and women becoming accustomed to the use of alcohol and drugs. The official statistics paint a quite rosy picture but in reality this is not the case. Thus, according to figures from a review of teenage cases at one of the rayon departments of internal affairs in Saratov, not one single teenage drug user is registered in the rayon. However, when filling out our questionnaire, 3 percent of schoolchildren and 6 percent of students at vocational and technical schools admitted that either they themselves or their comrades use drugs. Moreover, although the questionnaire was anonymous there are grounds for suggesting that not all young people risked telling the truth.

According to the information in that same review, in the contingent of teenagers registered on the preventive list, the proportion of those who were placed on the register because of use of alcoholic beverages is 13 percent. Taken as a percentage of the number of children of school age living in the rayon this is 0.1 percent. However, according to data from the questionnaire, 34 percent of schoolchildren and 70 percent of students at vocational and technical schools were using alcohol. Moreover, 4 percent of respondents stated that they drink often, 5 percent not often (this is how they regard drinking once a week!), and 8 percent once a month. One remarkable fact is that the study was conducted in November and December of 1986, that is, 18 months after adoption of the well-known party and government decision on intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. We must also be alarmed by the fact that two-thirds of students at vocational and technical schools and one-fourth of schoolchildren think that the use of alcoholic beverages is a normal phenomenon and do not therefore condemn it.

The opinion prevails that “the street” is to blame for children gaining access to alcohol. However, judging from the data obtained, 30 percent of schoolchildren and 54 percent of students at vocational and technical

schools of the total who are already drinking, do so at home, while the figures for drinking in school buildings and in the vocational and technical schools are 2 percent and 24 percent respectively, while 11 percent of vocational and technical school students drink in the hostels.

We see that for many teenagers, leisure time is “poisoned” by alcoholic beverages, drugs and toxins. This is not surprising if we consider that one in three of those polled believes that the educational measures implemented in the schools and vocational and technical schools are unsatisfactory. And 6 percent of schoolchildren and 16 percent of respondents from the vocational and technical schools cannot evaluate them at all because they never attend them. Half of those polled are dissatisfied with the work of the Komsomol organization at their own school.

From where do teenagers obtain sociopolitical information? For the overwhelming majority of those polled, the main sources are the newspapers and television. At the same time, 12 percent of schoolchildren and 20 percent of students at vocational and technical schools regularly listen to foreign radio, and even more do it occasionally—25 percent and 33 percent respectively. It is also noteworthy that 8 percent of schoolchildren in senior grades and 18 percent of vocational and technical school students think that information from foreign radio stations is objective.

We must admit that these responses surprised us greatly because our press and radio and television can now hardly be accused of glossing over the reality. But evidently more time is still needed to restore young people's faith in the mass media, which were compromised during the period of stagnation.

The level of legal knowledge is extremely low among teenagers. Thus, 40 percent of those polled do not know that the Constitution is the fundamental law of the state, and 80 percent do not know when and by whom it was adopted; one in three was unable to name the highest legislative organ of the USSR, and one in two does not know who is responsible for investigating crime in the country; 25 percent have no idea about which organ should properly resolve the question of imposing prison sentences for the commission of crimes.

Things are no better with teenagers' knowledge in the field of criminal and civil law. In particular, only 35 percent of respondents were able to state correctly the age at which criminal liability is imposed for hooliganism, theft and murder; one in ten had never heard that carrying and fabricating daggers, switchblades, and other bladed weapons is a crime, or that ignorance of the law is no excuse for criminal liability.

While being poorly aware of the functions of law-enforcement organs, teenagers have no respect for them (this was stated by 11 percent of schoolchildren and 44

percent of vocational and technical school students). In other words, most of those polled are psychologically unprepared to help in the struggle against crime. Moreover, many of them are themselves potentially "ripe" to commit crimes. Thus, 2 percent of schoolchildren and 10 percent of vocational and technical school students do not believe that it is necessary to observe the law, and 33 percent and 50 percent respectively reported that they know about infringements of the law by their comrades not known to the leadership in the school or vocational and technical school. Legal ignorance not only makes a person quite defenseless in the simplest everyday situations, but also turns him into a nonparticipating bystander in violations of the law.

And the last thing that we want to draw attention to is the following. Although for many years the question of sex education for teenagers has been raised in the periodical press and in scientific publications, no positive shifts are to be observed here. Meanwhile, a study of materials from legal practical work and the recorded personal affairs of teenagers indicates that sexual permissiveness is rampant among minors, and the number of teenagers aged 14 to 16 leading an active sex life is growing. There have been more cases of homosexuality among children of tender age. Thus, in one rayon of Saratov 4th-grade students attempted to commit an act of sodomy with a 6-year-old boy. A similar case occurred in another rayon; the age of the youths was 13.

Frequent changes of sexual partner and associating with prostitutes constitute one reason for the spread of venereal diseases among teenagers, from which a significant proportion of those registered in the juvenile affairs department suffer. Meanwhile, preventative work in the city is poor. Year after year the implementation of many urgent measures is being postponed. For example, in Saratov it has not even been possible to implement a proposal from the jurists to provide information from sexologists and venereologists for teenagers placed on the registers of the law-enforcement organs. One reason for this is the shortage of specialists.

Finding solutions to these problems is associated with many difficulties. But the first difficulty has been overcome: we are able to conduct research in social pathology among young people and write openly about it.

Social Problems of the Disabled

18060002m Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian
No 4, Jul-Aug 88 (signed to press 8 Jul 88) pp 79-83

[Article by Tatyana Alekseyevna Dobrovolskaya, Nikolay Aleksandrovich Demidov and Natalya Borisovna Shabalina, all associates at the Central Scientific Research Institute for the Determination of Disability and Organization of Work for Disabled Persons; Demidov is a doctor of medical sciences and director of the institute, Dobrovolskaya is a candidate of psychological sciences and senior scientific associate in the psychology laboratory, and Shabalina is a candidate of psychological sciences and chief of the psychology laboratory; Dobrovolskaya and Shabalina have been published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA ("Features of Production Adaptation by the Disabled" (No 3, 1985))

[Text] A person going from our country to the United States, Canada, Poland or any other developed country is struck by how many disabled people are skillfully maneuvering their wheelchairs in the crowds of passersby and how many of them there are among the shoppers in the stores, among the audiences in cinemas and so forth. But foreigners in the USSR are surprised by the almost complete absence of people in invalid wheelchairs in public places. Of course, they are there on the streets, in the stores, in the movie theaters, but only those who do not have obvious signs of disability and can move about freely and rub shoulders with people, and who outwardly are the same as healthy people. We have never seen a disabled person in a theater, at a concert or on the dais of a stadium: they are almost all permanent denizens of their own apartments.

It is a well-known fact that F.D. Roosevelt had poliomyelitis in his childhood and was disabled and confined to a wheelchair. This, however, did not prevent him from becoming President of the United States, and this evokes not the slightest surprise either in Americans or in us. But now let us try to imagine this kind of "wheelchair" person holding a post here as, for example, the chairman of a rayon soviet... It seems somehow impossible, even absurd, even though the reaction is hard to explain.

It is as if the problem of being disabled does not exist in the public awareness. But our society has recognized the difficulties of invalids from the Great Patriotic War! As a result, a great deal of explanatory work was done and appropriate decrees were adopted, and now a person disabled in the war and occupying a high post is not so rare an occurrence. As a rule they are surrounded by a deserved concern and attention and are in a special position. However, the war disabled make up only about one-fifth of all disabled people. What about the rest?

A little history. Already during the initial period of the Soviet republic's existence (July 1918) a decree was passed on social security for the workers.¹ During the Twenties the Cooperative for the Disabled, the Society for the Blind, and the Society for the Deaf were organized, and enterprises and training-and-production establishments were set up, designed for the disabled. The state granted various privileges enabling the disabled to be actively involved in socially useful labor. The abandonment of NEP and the formation of the administrative-command system of management led to a sharp decline in the public activity of the disabled. Only the societies for the deaf and the blind continued their activity, including arranging employment for the disabled and professional training and cultural-educational and sports work for them, in short, their involvement in the ranks of active citizens. With regard to the members of the Cooperative for the Disabled, they were given the opportunity to work in special workshops. The problem of their social integration was regarded as immaterial. It was precisely then that we started to lag behind other developed countries in finding a solution to this important question, for in those countries the state, the public

and scientific efforts engaged in this (numerous journals are published abroad devoted to questions of the social and labor rehabilitation of the disabled, while we have just one).

In our country only a small number of narrow specialists—scientists and practical workers—and, of course, the disabled themselves, worry about this problem. It cannot be said that the state does not take steps to improve the lives of the disabled. Spending on their material support is growing, and the sizes of pensions and allowances are increasing. Thus, from January 1987 the size of allowances for those disabled from childhood who have attained the age of 16 were increased as follows: for group I disablement from R30 to R50, and for group II from R25 to R40; for children aged under 16 who have been disabled from childhood allowances rose from R20 to R30 per month. The state also shows concern that the disabled receive an education: groups I and II invalids for whom education is not contraindicated by reason of their disablement have been permitted to enroll in higher and secondary educational establishments on a non-competitive basis. Legislative enactments exist that should ease the burden of finding employment for persons with poor work capacity. Responsibility rests with the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies.²

These, however, are the results from a study that we conducted early in 1987. Using questionnaires we polled higher and middle-level social security workers (260 persons) and disabled persons (590) in Moscow, Ryazan and Kishinev. The spread of the sample reflected the structure of disablement by groups, illnesses and reasons for disablement (except for those disabled in the Great Patriotic War, who were not polled since, as noted above, their situation differs significantly from the situation of other groups). The purpose of the poll was to determine the advisability of setting up a Society for the Disabled. A questionnaire for the experts—workers in social security—and a questionnaire for the disabled were used.

Among the higher-level specialists, who included chairmen of medical-labor expert commissions and managers of social security departments, no one considered the existing system for providing assistance to the disabled to be satisfactory; 80.4 percent thought that it partially meets the needs of the disabled, and 19.6 percent thought that it meets those needs poorly. Middle-level specialists—inspectors in regional departments of social security working directly with the disabled—were inclined to be more optimistic, but they included only 9.7 percent who think that the existing assistance for the disabled is satisfactory. Only 22.6 percent of the higher-level specialists polled think that the consequences of disablement are fully compensated by existing measures and privileges. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the experts recognizes that despite the privileges and material support the quality of life for the disabled differs significantly from the life of healthy individuals.

How is this specifically seen?

The right to work is guaranteed for all our citizens... However, in response to the question "Do you have adequate opportunities for finding employment," 50 percent to 76.5 percent of disabled persons polled (in various regions) answered in the negative. And this is not the consequence of their particular fastidiousness when looking for work. Cases are known in which when a disabled person arrived for an interview he showed a stack of his own applications to various organizations asking for work, and on each application the word "refused" was stamped. Some 70 percent of experts pointed to the complexity of finding work for the disabled in line with their abilities and inclination, and 50 percent of experts see significant complexity in finding work for the disabled in general. And here the state takes steps to facilitate them in finding work and has introduced a 2-percent quota of work places at enterprises to employ the disabled. (Incidentally, in the FRG this quota is 6 percent, and if an enterprise fails to comply it has to pay a monthly fine to a social and labor rehabilitation fund).³

Things are particularly bad with finding employment for persons who have become disabled as the result of injuries to the motor apparatus or accidents involving the spine. As a rule these are young people with severe motor limitations (paralysis of the legs, arms and so forth). They frequently graduate from secondary schools, vocational and technical schools and tekhnikums, and sometimes even universities. This alone demands great courage since their opportunities for motor activity are severely restricted. After completing their education they make every effort become useful members of society and not simply exist on an allowance. However, even the most talented often look unsuccessfully for work for years. And if they do find work, then the bookkeeper starts to work as a typist, the economist as a registry clerk in a polyclinic and so forth.

Matters are also bad with professional training: the range of professions that can be learned by the disabled in the vocational and technical schools and tekhnikums is extremely narrow and sometimes does not meet the needs of the national economy (hence the complexity of finding work) and are not prestigious. Some 35.7 percent of experts indicated that the situation in the field of vocational training is unsatisfactory.

The obstacles in exercising the right to work also give rise to a low standard of living: the disabled person becomes a partial dependent in his own family, which naturally has an adverse effect on its level of well-being. Some 38 percent of middle-level experts and 15.1 percent of higher-level experts think that the material difficulties of the disabled are significant. The disabled themselves note serious difficulties of a material nature in 48.7 percent of cases.

Among the disabled polled more than one-third pointed out that they are deprived of opportunities to participate in public life and expressed the desire to have more contacts with those around them. At the same time, 25 percent note difficulties during such contacts and psychological discomfort. Disabled persons with obvious disabilities (particularly those with impairments of the motor apparatus) note that healthy people have a somewhat unfriendly attitude toward them. Some 18 percent noted the indifference or unfriendliness of those around them, and 16 percent associate their difficulties with the indifference of people who have to deal with matters involving assistance for the disabled. Our poll indicates that the disabled recognize the existence of warnings about them given to healthy people. At this time we do not have more detailed information since research on the interrelationship between the disabled and the healthy population in our country is still only under way.

We think it advisable to turn to experience abroad in order to acquaint ourselves with these issues. Negative stereotypes with regard to the disabled are widespread. Researchers in Czechoslovakia⁴ point out that stereotypes are unfriendly and even hostile. Many healthy individuals ascribe to the disabled qualities such as hostility, unnatural behavior, arrogance, envy, and lack of initiative. It is noted in American studies⁵ that the disabled are evaluated on the basis of group affiliation rather than individual characteristics. The "aura effect" is seen in particular here, when the presence of a disability as it were obscures and explains all the other features and abilities of the individual. The fact of having a disability can color his activity and possibilities in the eyes of healthy people in such a way that he will be considered either weak or fit for nothing, or possessed of exceptional capabilities and abilities; only rarely will he be considered objectively on the basis of his knowledge, abilities and skills. Healthy people evaluate them on the basis of a stereotype of the disabled in general, and also on the basis of a certain stereotype for the specific type of disorder.⁴ The disabled person wants to be in the society of healthy people and wants to feel that he is accepted by those around him despite his disability; in other words, he strives for integration. But healthy people often assess him negatively, and this low assessment exists in the most varied age groups.^{6, 7}

How can the attitude toward the disabled be changed? This problem is a priority in work and research in the field of rehabilitation in the developed countries. Attention has been focused on the social aspects, integration and dealing with the disabled person in the same way as a healthy one. Some extremely original approaches are seen in finding solutions to the questions. Thus, in the United States there are museums for children when they can get to know about what people with physical disabilities experience: for some time the visitors have restricted freedom of movement and their eyes and ears are covered, and thus they are able to understand at least to some degree what life is like for the disabled.

Here in this country the problem of interaction between the disabled and the healthy is only just starting to be studied by a narrow circle of specialists. It is essential that it be recognized by everyone.

We may object that for the disabled person it is more important to solve problems of finding employment, medical care and so forth. In our view, all the problems associated with the disabled must be resolved comprehensively. First, because a truly humane society cannot reconcile itself to the existence of indifference or an unfriendly attitude by healthy people toward the disabled. Second, it must be taken into account that the complexities in finding work for the disabled are often the result of causes of a subjective nature, the chief of which is the negative attitude toward them and their capabilities. An administration tries to avoid hiring disabled persons since, in its opinion, they are ill more often, are less productive, and more accident prone. Despite the fact that such opinions have been refuted by the research, they are deeply enrooted in the mass consciousness.

Perhaps it is a matter of the ill will of individual workers in the social security system? The poll conducted showed that their opportunities for providing real assistance for the disabled are limited. Thus, middle-level specialists working directly with the disabled point out that help in finding employment (especially in line with abilities and inclination), in everyday matters, and in satisfying cultural needs is very hampered. With regard to moral support and overcoming psychological discomfort, 45 percent of middle-level specialists pointed to their own total impotence in this matter.

The thought involuntarily arises: it is essential to increase the number of sources of assistance for the disabled and somehow alter the tactics of social assistance. The desire for centralization and the concentration of all efforts and funding in republic ministries of social security, and the decisive role of these ministries in defining the advisability of particular measures to improve conditions for the disabled are unproductive. One glaring example is the question of re-establishing the Society for the Disabled, which dragged on for years. Scholars and the press, and the disabled themselves spoke about its advisability but the departments deemed the proposal "inadvisable." Finally, the question of the Society for the Disabled has been positively resolved. Experts think that it could assume the following functions: help in finding employment (85 percent of those polled), organizing leisure and social intercourse (68 percent), protecting the rights of the disabled (68 percent), mutual assistance in everyday matters (62 percent), creating labor cooperatives (58 percent), providing additional medical care (56 percent), and expanding the system of vocational training (55 percent).

Creating a Society for the Disabled and increased activity in the struggle to assert their rights constitute an important source for optimism with regard to their

future fate. The disabled have now been isolated from the society of healthy people (many literally because they are physically unable to leave their apartments; one-third of the employed disabled have a low level of sociopsychological adaptation and are not linked with the labor collective).⁸ The result is ignorance and misunderstanding about the problems of the disabled and a kind of xenophobia on the part of healthy people in their vicinity, leading to even greater isolation from the healthy.

To sum up: it is possible to involve the disabled in social life and satisfy their rights if our society fully recognizes the very existence of the problem of disablement. Glasnost should play a role here: only reliable information and a change of attitude can convince an administration to hire disabled people and teach colleagues the proper tone to take when dealing with them, and force planners to make provision for facilities for extending their physical capabilities. In order to break the negative stereotypes what is needed is closer contacts between healthy people and the disabled and effective help, not so much material (donations and so forth) but rather in organizing leisure, finding employment and so forth. Unfortunately, the public organizations now take almost no part in work to provide help for the disabled (only 13 percent of the disabled polled had turned to the trade unions when in difficulty, and only 3 percent to the party and Komsomol organizations). However, as indicated above, the social security organs are unable to solve many problems and they must cooperate with the public organizations and local soviets. Certain shifts can now be discerned: the press has started to talk about problems of disablement and the informal "Miloserdiye" [Charity] movement has been initiated. However, many problems still remain.

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Long-Term Research on Drunkenness and Alcoholism

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[Article by Vladimir Yefimovich Kvoshchev, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior teacher in the department of scientific communism at the Chelyabinsk Polytechnical Institute imeni Leninskiy Komsomol; published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA for the first time]

[Text] Sociological studies of the problems of drunkenness and alcoholism were conducted in Chelyabinsk soon after publication of the related documents in 1985 and 1987. Since then, many of the liquor stores and bars in the oblast have been closed, "temperance zones" have been established, propaganda of the teetotal way of life has been intensified, and a critical attitude has been shaped with regard to liquor abuse. In order to record the changes that have taken place we used comparable questionnaires and the same combination of sampling models (quota-cluster models with random selection of units for observation). It was possible to insure a high level of representativeness in the results and minimum error when comparing data from two studies. In each study about 1,300 workers in industry and agriculture were polled. The basic results of the studies were published in the local newspaper and evoked interested comments.

Both the material from the polls and figures covering oblast statistics convincingly indicate that over the past 3 years the use of alcoholic beverages has significantly declined. According to our information, 13 percent of respondents have stopped spending money on liquor while in 35 percent the amount spent has tangibly fallen. As a result, the production and everyday atmosphere has improved in the lives of most people in the southern Urals: 47 percent of those polled note a significant decrease in the incidence of absenteeism, 42 percent note better labor discipline, and 34 percent a marked improvement in labor productivity. In summing up the

results of the 2-year assault on drunkenness, one-third of those polled pointed to improvement in the moral and psychological climate in the labor collectives, while 40 percent indicated a significant decrease in the number of family conflicts. It is also pleasing to note the following fact: whereas 3 years ago 56 percent respondents always used liquor on holidays, today the figure is much lower—31 percent. For 11 percent of those polled it has become the rule to hold family celebrations without drinking. Thus, the positive result of the 2 years of measures to eradicate drunkenness is obvious: a majority of the population has started (voluntarily or by dint of necessity) to lead a more sober way of life.

However, we should not cherish any illusions. We understand fully the difficulties in the struggle against drunkenness and how far we are from total victory over this vice. It should be remembered that in the oblast today 43 percent of those polled do encounter alcohol abuse in their family and relatives, 66 percent live with drunks in the neighborhood, and 62 percent work alongside them. In the questionnaires many of those polled expressed their dissatisfaction with how the struggle against drunkenness has been conducted recently. In the opinion of 57 percent of respondents the decisions adopted in 1985 were complied with only for a few months. In some cities in the oblast (for example, Miass and Zlatoust) 80 percent of respondents think that there has been a retreat in the struggle against drunkenness. In rural localities the situation is better: there almost half of those polled expressed satisfaction with the steps taken against alcoholism.

Analysis of the successes and failures in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism reveals a growing divergence between the desired and the reality and between words and deeds. On the one hand, a majority (86 percent) supports strict sanctions against drunks, while on the other, dissatisfaction is being expressed with the anti-alcohol policy at the local level. Suffice it to say that the number of those firmly supporting it over the past 2 years has declined from 59 percent to 44 percent. This does not mean, however, that people have become more tolerant toward drunks. On the contrary: the number of respondents who think that the steps taken against drunks are too soft and who demand more decisive action has almost doubled (from 12 percent to 21 percent). An absolute majority of those polled name punishments of a material kind (loss of bonuses, payment according to work results, fines and so forth) as effective means for influencing those who drink, and they insist on broader use of such punishments. Whence also the assessment of the activity of particular departments in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. The workers are linking their hopes primarily with the administrations of enterprises and law-enforcement organs. Institutions that carry out explanatory and educational work are assigned a secondary role.

It would seem that everything is simple and clear: strict measures have been implemented against drunkenness, the positive changes are there for all to see, and a

majority of the population is demanding even more decisive measures. All that remains is to "turn the screw" more tightly. However, many facts force us to have doubts about the effectiveness of solving the problems of drunkenness prim by administrative methods. Thus, although the polls also confirm that the use of alcohol by the oblast's population has declined, the attitude of the "non-drinkers," "moderate drinkers" and "heavy drinkers" (14 percent, 84 percent and 2 percent) has not changed. This means that no qualitative has taken place in the use of liquor. Just as 2 years ago, the ratio of advocates and opponents of the "dry laws" is still 50:50.

It can be seen from the material from the polls that the role of public opinion in the struggle against drunkenness remains, as before, minor. In our opinion, this is the result of a dual attitude toward drunkenness. Thus, for example, about 9 out of every 10 of those polled condemn alcoholic beverages but almost as many use them.

Thanks to explanatory work, many respondents recognized the perniciousness of the moderate use of alcohol on health. For example, in 1985 some 28 percent of those polled believed that moderate use of alcohol does no harm to the health, and attitudes toward liquor were based on this. In the 1987 study this indicator has fallen to 21 percent. The number of respondents (now one-third of those polled) who are convinced of the pernicious effect of alcohol on the human body rose 4 percent. At the same time, when the results of the polls were discussed in the oblast newspaper, the following circumstance came to light. Endless exhortations to drinkers and importunate explanations about the harm of alcohol are perceived increasingly as incongruous or irritating. Anti-alcohol propaganda is often regarded as empty moralizing not least for the reason that many of the advocates of a teetotal way of life are not examples worthy of imitation.

The results of the repeat poll show that more than 25 percent of respondents use home-brewed alcoholic beverages [samodelnyye alkogolnyye napitki]. Not everyone will make this kind of admission even anonymously, and the proportion is probably greater. Moreover, about 6 percent of the population in the oblast use moonshine [samogon]. And in some cities and rural localities one in ten adults uses it. The "moonshine" zones can be seen increasingly clearly on the map.

Who uses this doubtful product that is sometimes even dangerous to the health? Primarily men (only 8 percent women), young people and old people. People of medium age—30 to 50—eschew moonshine. This is simply explained. Young people and old people belong to the least well-off social groups in a population. And one of the main motivations for using moonshine is economic (this was indicated by 63 percent of those polled). Raising prices for alcohol beverages has hit hard at the pockets of those who love liquor. Some 23 percent of respondents admitted that their spending on this item

in their budgets has grown significantly. Another motive for independent production of liquor is profit. Some 15 percent of respondents see in moonshine a direct source of unearned income and about the same number (16 percent) see it as a means of producing payment in kind for all kinds of personal services. One in seven of those polled is involved in this kind of calculation and in the illegal buying and selling of liquor (moonshine or alcohol derived from technical sources).

Radical changes are required in the social sphere in order to deal with drunkenness. In recent years much has been done in this direction. For example, the "gastronomic" approach to drunkenness, when great hopes were placed in the replacement of alcohol with particular food products (juices, kvass), has been overcome. According to our data, 17 percent of the oblast's inhabitants have noticeably increased their amounts of free time in connection with the steps taken to deal with drunkenness. Free time is being used more rationally: 26 percent of those polled have started to give more attention to physical culture and sports, and 37 percent go more often to the cinema, theaters and circus. However, a definite proportion of the population (16 percent) has started to engage in useful pursuits at home much less than previously. This group is made up of those who stand "on watch" in the long lines at the liquor stores. The study showed that both those who persist in the harmful habit and those who have given up liquor in favor of a sober way of life have more than enough free time on their hands. It is quite clear that given the present organization of leisure it is impossible to fill these blanks. Measures such as, for example, cooperative and individual labor activity, expanding private subsidiary farms, and developing garden plots and truck farming, are a different matter. All this promotes positive changes in the structure of workers' free time and confirmation of a sober way of life.

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Roundup of Letters to Editor

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(signed to press 8 Jul 88) pp 110-116

[Roundup of letters to the editor]

[Text]

The Social Development Service on Cost Accounting

There are many letters from plant sociologists in the mail to the editor. They deal with the most diverse issues. Most often there are thoughts about the fate of sociological services at enterprises, the lack of support for their methodological instrumentarium and personnel, and the reluctance of managers to listen to the needs of people doing applied work. Readers are sharing their urgent questions with the journal and making requests to the council, and they hope for real assistance.

Ye.N. Korzhenko from Slavyansk city (Donetsk Oblast) reports that some leaders understand in a unique way the transfer of enterprises to self-financing and cost accounting. They are calling for a struggle against bureaucracy and reductions in the inflated departmental staffs, first and foremost the sociologists. "This is how the director of the Slavyansk High-Voltage Insulators Plant acted. Here, they decided that the sociologists were simply hampering operations. At the Starokramatorsk Machinebuilding Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, also in Donetsk Oblast, a laboratory for specific sociological studies had been operating for a long time until it was closed down on the eve of new year in 1988. The same fate may also await other services," Ye.N. Korzhenko says in conclusion.

We do not think that making economies in solving social problems is the most rational way to improve production profitability. In the developed industrial countries they were convinced long ago that capital investments in the social sphere are a very profitable thing. And the money is not spent there to no purpose. But our managers fail utterly to understand that ultimately the thing in shortest supply is "human resources."

Lack of respect—crisis of trust—a climate lacking spiritual sustenance. This, perhaps is the cause-and-effect chain for the phenomena that have been born out of the abstract humanism of recent decades and behind which elementary lack of respect for people's needs and requires hide. Wherever the plan is often lowered and achieved at the cost of extra work and crash programs and managerial pressure on subordinates and the blocking of any kind of initiative "from below," we cannot talk about any high art in interpersonal relations. There, a sociologist is even dangerous.

There are many facets to every problem. One of them is economic conservatism on the part of managers and their reluctance to take into account the social orientation of production activity and the role of the human factor.

But the question is: is the manager always interested in losing a efficient, intelligent specialist, particularly in the field of the sociological sciences? Perhaps he wants first to cut back on those whose hide their professional unsuitability with fashionable sociological phraseology?

Over the past 10 years, writes Zh.S. Trostanovskiy (Kharkov), the number of sociological services within the system of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry has risen from 40 to 222. But what kind of specialists? Some 84 teachers (including language teachers, historians, geography and chemistry teachers and so forth) have become sociologists because they were reluctant or unable to work in schools; and engineers who prefer a quiet place in the sociological laboratory to the busy planning of new equip and technology. Sociologists also include former nursing sisters, commodities experts, bookkeepers and even kindergarten teachers. Most are

women, often the wives of party workers influential in the city, and of managers or their friends and acquaintances. One result of the feminization of plant sociology has been a decline in the scientific level of research and the practical returns from work.

Yet another trend is impairing the ranks of applied sociologists, namely the recruitment of former managers of various seniority. The fact that a contraction is taking place in the country in the extraordinarily inflated managerial apparatus can only be welcomed. However, it is usually the poor workers who are being fired. Are they really capable of becoming good sociologists?

Many readers request publication in the journal of as many programs, methodological tools, social projects and technologies as possible.

"For years we have been conducting sociological research at the Yakutalmaz Scientific Production Association," writes S.I. Zelberg. "Every quarter we poll thousands of people using 'independent' questionnaires. The fact is that we do it ourselves, but too much time is spent on this by non-professionals and the quality of the questionnaires is not good. For ready-made methods we recruit specialists needed for other matters in various parts of the country. This means additional expense. And there you have the unprofitability of sociology, from which some people try to rid themselves first under cost accounting. I am convinced that many enterprises find themselves in this situation. Could not the journal systematically publish methods that have given a good account of themselves and help the thousands of plant sociologists?"

This desire is quite understandable. Instead of being engaged in their immediate duties, sociologists are spending time acquiring questionnaires and programs. A new service is set up but there is no training or informational literature, nor are the addresses of the leading experience available. There is no all-union center that could coordinate the isolated services, no unified data bank or methodology. Under these conditions the specialists resort to personal channels and chance acquaintances and borrow the first questionnaires that come to hand. If there is a sociological headquarters for the sector to provide assistance—fine. But what if there is not?

Proposals were advanced long ago to standardize the tools used (naturally, where necessary), set up an all-union expert review system, improve selection and make it generally accessible. But who should do this: the head subdivisions of the sectors, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological research, the sociology departments of the Moscow State University and the Leningrad State University, or the Soviet Sociological Association? While the argument goes on the plant sector is being trampled where it stands and falling increasingly behind practical requirements, and social prestige and the return from practical work are falling. But the main

thing is that there is a major drain of highly skilled sociologists and talented practical people. The vacuum formed is being filled with casual, untrained people.

The high scientific level reached is falling and services that once operated well are disintegrating. Stagnation reigns, and it will hardly be overcome in the next 5 to 10 years.

Under these conditions it is the opinion of readers that the journal should lead a movement for radical restructuring of plant sociology. "Your journal," writes V.A. Malov from Gorkiy, "could play a special role in professional training for personnel. I realize that sociologists still have only one such press organ and that it is designed to satisfy a diverse range of scientific needs. But I think that it is precisely the plant sociologists who could make up the main contingent of subscribers. I propose that in the 'Consultation' column you systematically carry a course on the basics of applied sociology, while the 'Sociology Abroad' column is used to acquaint readers with well-known methods created, for example, by American sociologists." V.N. Sotnichenko from the village of Mushikovo (Murmansk Oblast) proposes the introduction of a new column—"Reference Material"—while sociologist A. Bochkarev from the Kuzbassradio Plant asks for more extensive elucidation of questions concerning industrial sociology on the theoretical-methodological plane.

The editorial office tries to give due consideration to readers' wishes. However, it must not be forgotten that the journal publishes the materials that authors submit. And although the editorial portfolio has been enriched in recent years, two-thirds of the articles submitted still fail to meet scientific requirements. We must say candidly that very little good material is received from plant sociologists. Of course, it would be possible to establish a plant column through the efforts of scholars from academic institutions but this would be more of a half-measure than a fundamental solution to the question.

Publication of particular methods in an academic publication would essentially signify approval and recognition of them as a scientific standard. But it is the special commission of experts that rightly has the power to issue certification, and we still do not have one. The basis for such certification should be exhaustive material testifying to the passage of a given methodology in the stage of experimental verification, the effect derived, the sphere of application and so forth. Unfortunately, most of the articles submitted to the editor lack the necessary minimum information on the research program, sample aggregate and so forth. How can we publish suspect data?

Let us assume that the material meets all the requirements. But this is not the end of the matter. Will the publication generate new complexities? For now the methodology can be used by everyone, even those without appropriate training. And he obtains his tools gratis but with no scientific or legal liability for the final results

since he is covered by the name of an authoritative publication. However, a methodology without a "key" cannot be used, and that "key" is the property of the author. And if he provides a brief description of it it will smack more of an advertisement. While sociology has its own "state acceptance," it is impossible to distinguish a good-quality product from a surrogate.

The expansion in the network of services for social development in the sectors and enterprises and the growing numbers of sociologists doing applied work in the Seventies was essentially the extensive stage in the development of the science. The switch to intensive development has been seriously hampered by the shortage of qualified personnel, lack of methodological and training literature, the inefficient system for advanced training, and the insufficient work done on the administrative and legal status of plant science. A paradoxical situation has taken shape: the questions of the previous, extensive stage, have not been resolved, but qualitatively new tasks are waiting.

In history, this is what happened earlier. Even during the Twenties, when institutes dealing with the scientific organization of labor and psychological-technical laboratories and bureaus were springing up literally like mushrooms after the rain, demand greatly outstripped supply. There was a lack of what was most needed, namely, reliable methodologies and programs and approved tests and questionnaires. The shortage was mitigated by borrowing Western methodologies and developing our own tools. There was no time for a careful scientific search or for testing programs, and at that time there was also a shortage of qualified specialists. Amateur work flourished. However, the stage of "initial accumulation" is always difficult, and if a science is developed steadily and aggressively then with time the constraints on growth are overcome and a reliable mechanism is created for the reproduction of scientific knowledge. Very likely this is what happened in all the industrially developed countries, but unfortunately not here. The 30-year gap led to serious lagging. It seemed that the only way was to borrow the leading technology, learn how to use it and gradually develop our own, more reliable technology. But was our sociology ready for this?

The situation was repeated in the Seventies and Eighties, with the difference that perhaps more funding was allocated for the development of applied science; but the overall effect was less. Even after publication of the Provisions on the Social Development Services (SOT-SIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA No 3, 1986), the situation failed to improve, and in some cases even got worse. In her letter, L.V. Sanzharovskaya (Dnepropetrovsk) states the following: the lack of basic sociological training, the low status of applied sociology, and the outdated system for the division of scientific labor are leading to extremely regrettable consequences. Academic scholars "have an attitude toward practical people that enables them to act only in the role of people filling

out questionnaires in all-union studies; the applied sociologists pay this back in kind: they do hack work in the polls and have only a pro forma attitude toward them. After prolonged attempts to establish creative cooperation, the individual services abandon them. Methodological support becomes a matter of personal initiative. True, there has recently been noticeable 'progress': endless arguments about the lack of methodologies and the amateurish level have been replaced by speculation and the resale of social technologies."

"We are tired of amateurs!" This, perhaps, is how we formulate the general attitude of our correspondents. Is it possible to solve the problem of scientific support for sociologists in a statesmanlike manner, and free them from the thankless mission of being "makeshifts" for the lack of tools, and enable them "to bring real advantages to people and be able to look them honestly in the face" asks V.A. Malov.

Why are people asking the journal such questions? Most likely those organizations that are designed to do it are not resolving the task of methodological support. And when one experiences "sociological hunger" then one devours anything that one can get, and one spontaneously overpays for the shortage. From various parts of the country we are receiving signals that in Moscow they are allegedly selling methodologies at three times the price, put together in a slapdash manner from analogues abroad. "Perhaps," V.A. Malov argues, "the time has come to cut the ground away from under the feet of the 'smart-dealer sociologists' and give publicity to the American methods that in adapted form could be successfully used under our conditions?"

Many readers have asked the editor similar questions, particularly since publication of the article "Applied Research in the United States" (SOT-SIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA No 3, 1987). In particular, V.N. Ragimova from Baku asks the following question: "Does Soviet sociology have similar tools? Who exactly has them and how can they be borrowed? I am talking about the Index of Descriptions of Work, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the Hemphill Index of Group Dimensions, and the Seashore Index of Group Cohesion. Obviously practical sociologists suggest that they should be armed with a version of the American questionnaire, adapted to our conditions, since all problems involved in work on their own program and with acquisition and processing of data, and even more their interpretation, will automatically fade away. Of course, using a tried and tested tool is much better than creating one's own by oneself. For the skills required of the compiler are at least as great, and perhaps greater than those needed by the person who uses it. And the Americans, who often buy ready-made tools so as to organize studies quickly, understand this. Development, experimental testing and other essential stages take years and the practical sociologists there simply do not have the time for this. A private company demands quick results and final effect and it has no interest in the method used

to achieve them. An administration is not niggardly in buying good tools if development of its own will be even more expensive. Since the tools are patented, purchasing them presents no special difficulties. As a rule, only an 'advertising' version of a version of a method is published while the 'key' remains with the author. Possibly a similar method of cost-accounting relations could be applied here. [no closing quotes—ed]

Cost accounting, however, is a sophisticated matter. It does not at all assume an ability to make money from nothing. On the contrary, it is a question of equivalent exchange of values: the purchaser has the money and the producer a high-quality product. At present, we sometimes have neither. It is a commonplace that a good product is expensive. There is no harm, for example, in paying several thousand rubles for the package of methods for conducting certifications of the business qualities of workers as developed by specialists at the well-known Tallinn service known as the "Maynor" Design and Planning Bureau. The quality of the product is guaranteed and the saving effect is obvious.

In Soviet sociology effective programs and social technologies (in particular the Perm STK [expansion unknown—ed] system) have been developed that are fully competitive with and can be distributed on a commercial basis. More extensive use must be made of experience gained by innovative sociology firms operating on cost-accounting principles and having authoritative specialists working for them. Then not only the large enterprises will be provided with scientific support, but also medium-size and small enterprises. Experience gained in setting up territorial social development services deserves attention. Things have now advanced to a stage when the client most interested in research developments is the local soviet.

As a rule, imaginary and real cost accounting go hand in hand. We have long been well acquainted with the former. Assume that a department or laboratory in a VUZ enters into an economic contract with an enterprise and organizes research while someone is charged for a unit of "commercial output" in a report that is suspect scientifically and in practical terms. The client coughs up thousands of rubles and the end result from the introduction may be simply symbolic. Because the price has been established on a cost principle.

There are other ways of "improving" production profitability. We are all acquainted ad nauseam with the situation in which a department or hotel trust inflates the prices for the services it provides without essentially changing anything either in labor organization or in the quality of the services. And in sociology everything can be translated into the language of money, and even prices can be raised, but an amateurish method remains a defective item no matter what the packaging. Another way is more economical, namely, making basic changes in the organization of scientific economic management and its structure, and in personnel and methodological

support. For example, why cannot demand for books on sociology be met through well-translated literature? Each year a number of textbooks are published in the United States, many of which could give good service here also.

Risk and the right to make mistakes is a permanent element of innovation. Rivalry between Soviet developments and those abroad occurs not only in the sphere of equipment and technology, but also in applied sociological projects.

(Signed) A.I. Kravchenko. Moscow.

Clarification Is Needed

Both in everyday life and sociological studies we often meet the questions "Your social origin" and "Your social status" These questions are posed when we fill out various kinds of documents. When a person responds to the question "Your social status" he indicates one of a number of possible responses: worker, kolkhoz farmer, employee, pensioner, student and so forth. His response reflects his actual status at a given moment in time. Things are different with the question "Your social origin" When his father and mother are workers (kolkhoz farmers, employees and so forth) answering the question is simple: the child of workers (kolkhoz farmers, employees and so forth). But in real life there are other situations. For example, when the father is a worker and the mother a kolkhoz farmer, or when the father is a worker and the mother an employee, or when the father is a worker and the mother a homemaker, and so forth. In such a case no one can properly know if a person has correctly indicated his social origin. The orientation is usually made on a preference or a desire to make the statistics look better, and so forth. Accordingly, when, for example, the father is a worker and the mother an employee (or pensioner, homemaker and so forth) people with a particular interest will point out that their social origin is from workers. Let me use a specific example to show what this leads to.

In 1986 some 2,240 young men and women were enrolled as first-year students at the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute. The following figures were cited in a statistical report on their social origins: from workers, 1,016 people (45.4 percent), from kolkhoz farmers 252 (11.2 percent), from employees 972 (43.4 percent). When a study was conducted on this contingent the question "social origin of your parents" was asked—separately for the mother and for the father. Respondents offered the following variations in their responses: worker (female worker), kolkhoz farmer (female kolkhoz farmer), employee (female employee), pensioner (female pensioner), homemaker (female homemaker), parents dead, other, don't know. Moreover, information was additionally collected on the social origin of the parents (for the mother and father separately) from official documents belonging to these same students. A comparison revealed that the parents who were workers totaled 15.3 percent while according to the statistical report the figure was

45.4 percent. How could such a discrepancy be explained? It had occurred because the secretaries of the enrollment commission (footnote: naturally, not only at this particular VUZ) had included in this column not only those whose father and mother were workers but also those one of whose parents was a worker.

When recording the social origin of the parents, yet another question arises: what moment should be considered for determining the social origin of the respondent—the year that he was born, the time when he attained his majority, or the time at which he responded to this particular question? This is important since the parents (or one of the parents) may have a change of social status. It is therefore essential to indicate the moment for which the status of the respondent's parents (mother and father separately) should be recorded. In addition, it is essential to record the responses accurately. For example: I do not know whether we are talking about a worker or female worker, a kolkhoz farmer or female kolkhoz farmer, an employee or female employee, a pensioner or female pensioner, or whatever. This makes it possible to obtain objective information about the social origin of the respondent and statistical data reflecting the actual state of affairs and the conditions for making additions.

There is still another loophole in statistical reports for those who love to distort data: sometimes the social status of the parents and of the respondent himself are recorded in the same column. For example, if the parents are employees and their son or daughter has for a time been a worker, then the report will include the information "worker." This is incorrect for here we have two quite different phenomena. In documents and questionnaires the social status of the parents at any given time and the social status of the respondent at any given time should be recorded separately.

(Signed) Yu.Z. Leonavichyus. Vilnius.

Who Is Tired of "Gold Fever"?

Early in the year the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (No 9, 1988) carried an interview with the USSR deputy minister of finance S. Borisov. The occasion was a letter from reader V. Tsurikova from Vilnius, who was interested in knowing the reason for the difference between the selling price and the buying price for gold. Judging from the text, the system that exists here is designed to fulfill two main functions. The first is to provide the state with additional income. The second is to promote the accomplishment of social justice. The price scissors are in fact a means for redistributing the population's income. S. Borisov's arguments should leave no doubt that the ministry is in no way on the side of those owning treasures. And indeed, in general the Ministry of Finance makes money for "the sole purpose of returning it in one

form or another to the people." However, certain facts and reservations in the interview raise doubts: does the department really equate the interests of the state with the interests of its citizens?

It is common knowledge that the buying of gold items does not assume their resale in the form in which they were bought. Accordingly the buying price should be set according to the value of the pure gold in the item minus a 6-percent discount to cover buying in expenses, in line with the rules for the buying-in trade. S. Borisov asserts that when the buying price is set due consideration is also given to expenses connected with resmelting, the fabrication of new ornaments, storage and so forth. Let us assume that resmelting can be equivalent to the repair and restoration of articles, for which, in line with those same rules, another 10 percent of the value is held back (even though, of course, it is clear that labor costs for resmelting are negligible). Hence, the buying price for gold items should be at least 84 percent of the selling price for pure gold. And the cost of manufacturing new ornaments and their transport and storage has nothing to do with it. All this is newly created value that should be included in the price of the new article. All that remains is to calculate this selling price for pure gold and accurately calculate the level below which the buying price cannot fall.

However, the selling price for pure gold (999 assay) for the average citizen is a secret, a sealed book. Being unable to find the official figures we have to turn to the confidential opinion of competent persons (workers in jewelry manufacturing, the Main Administration for the Jewelry Trade, Gosbank). And the experts provide differing figures.

Thus, we are dealing with an economically unsound almost 100-percent increase in the selling price over the buying price. (Footnote: from 1 June 1988 the buying price was raised from R46 to R55 per gram of pure gold). What does this mean? Either we buy at an exorbitant price or we sell for next to nothing; there is no other choice. Experience, and also the indirect admission by S. Borisov himself, convince us that the high selling price for gold is a monopoly price that brings great profit for the state. And the buying price is closer (although it is not clear how close) to the real value of pure gold. We cite the following fact in support of what we have said: the selling price for gold fillings for teeth (high assay) is R50 per gram, while the buying price is R41, that is, a difference of 18 percent, which is close to the 16 percent with which we have been operating in our own theoretical discussions. To the point, the relative inexpensiveness of gold fillings for teeth results from the fact that they are "lucky" not to fall within the category of luxury items. Gold, so S. Borisov asserts, is not an essential product. It seems to me that the essential need for a product—and gold articles are the most real of products—should be determined by the market.

In my opinion, such a large difference between the selling and buying prices on the one hand testifies to inflationary processes and excessive issue of paper money, and on the other, it points unambiguously on whose shoulders the Ministry of Finance is trying to place the struggle against inflation. In this case it is squeezing the "excess" money out of the public. Of course, much of the free-circulating cash will not be returned to the budget using this method, but in aggregate with other measures (high prices for tobacco, alcohol, imported consumer goods, objects for personal use, cars, gasoline and so forth) tangible results are being achieved.

But perhaps the object of such measures is people who, as they say, have nothing better to do with their money? This author has conducted an improvised mini-sociological study in stores of the Main Administration for the Jewelry Trade in Moscow using the method of observation, interviews and expert questionnaire. Of 138 buyers purchasing gold articles approached, 38 declined to respond. The following question was asked: "Why did you decide to buy precisely this article and what is the monthly per capita income in your family? This poll is being conducted in order to study the assortment of articles available." In addition to many complaints about the jewelry trade, we obtained the following results: for 21 percent of buyers the monthly per capita income was more than R150, for 20 percent it was R130 to R150, for 52 percent R100 to R130, and for 7 percent less than R100.

And here is the generalized opinion of the experts—the store salespeople and directors. In recent years the makeup of buyers has changed significantly: the proportion of guests from Central Asia and the Transcaucasus has declined relatively and a "motley crowd" now comes to the stores, people of the most varied ages who are obviously not rich. Demand is greatest for inexpensive items costing R50 to R52 per gram of 583 assay gold—simple chains, ear rings, rings without stones, each costing up to R250. It is now difficult to sell items costing more than R300. Of the ornaments with natural precious stones those costing no more than R1,000 are the ones mainly sold. Items with diamond spars, synthetic crystals [fianit] and other artificial stones just gather dust on the shelves—there are virtually no sales of these stones.

We tried to conduct a similar study of buying habits. A total of 32 persons were interviewed. Another 7 very solid people declined to answer. Three of our respondents had a per capita monthly family income of R100 to R130, while for 28 the figure was under R100. It was not possible to complete a statistical sample: the 33rd respondent arrived by himself—a militiaman.

Even these limited data suggest that gold is bought primarily by those who have low incomes and do not have reserves of money as insurance for emergencies. Those who are little richer do buy gold but not to lay by in case of financial difficulties but rather to wait for the price to rise.

On the basis of the results obtained it can be concluded that the buying of "metal-intensive" gold articles, always at a high level, has noticeably grown over the past 2 or 3 years against the backdrop of talk about monetary reform and price increases. And no decline is foreseen here in the immediate future. Most (almost 80 percent) purchasers of gold items are people with moderate or low incomes trying to insure themselves against further deterioration in living standards. Most of those selling gold also belong to the category of low- and middle-income people. In this connection the following question arises: whose interests is the USSR Ministry of Finance protecting in the struggle for social justice by establishing such a large difference between the selling price and the buying price?

(Signed) A.V. Zinakov. Moscow.

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[Roundup of reports on sociological events]

[Text] A scientific council that is a standing advisory body has been set up under the USSR Council of Ministers Buro for Social Development. The council has been set up to handle topical problems and draw up proposals and recommendations on development and improvement in the social sphere and meeting people's needs for education, spiritual and physical development, health care and health improvement, and consumer goods and services, and also to coordinate scientific research in this field. The council is made up of eminent scholars and experts from the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences in the union republics, the central sector academies, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy, leading higher educational establishments, sector scientific research institutes, associations and enterprises, public organizations and the creative unions. The deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Buro for Social Development, V.I. Vlasov, has been confirmed as chairman of the scientific council, and the deputy chairmen are to be the director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, doctor of philosophical sciences V.I. Ivanov, and chief of the USSR Gosplan Education, Culture, and Public Health Section, doctor of economy sciences A.N. Troshin; the scientific secretary will be candidate of historical sciences A.T. Gavrilov. The scientific council consists of a presidium and six sections, which have held their first meetings. The meeting of the scientific council presidium reviewed the question of scientifically sound social norms and their use in long-term plans. The section "Development of Consumer Goods Production and

User-fee Services and Satisfying Effective Public Demand" discussed problems of balancing commodity supply and consumer demand. At the meeting of the section "Population, Way of Life and Public Health" questions were raised concerning compliance with the comprehensive program for the prevention of disease and strengthening the health of the population during the 12th Five-Year Plan and tasks connected with work on the state program to prevent disease and shape a healthy way of life during the 13th Five-Year Plan and during the period through the year 2000. The president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences V.I. Pokrovskiy, the USSR deputy minister of health A.I. Kondrusev, and the leaders of medical, pedagogical, physical culture and health institutes and others took part in the discussion. The meeting of members of the section "Development of the Material-Technical Base for the Sociocultural Sphere" was devoted to problems involving information support for the sectors of the social complex. The section "Social Problems of Youth" discussed a report from doctor of historical sciences I.V. Bestuzheva-Lada of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research on the prospects in social problems of youth and possible ways to solve them.

At the meeting of the section "General Problems in the Social Development of Soviet Society" recommendations were put forward by the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems regarding the draft of a comprehensive program for social development and improving the national well-being. The section "The Educational System and Satisfying the Spiritual Needs of the Population" considered questions connected with the concept of universal secondary education for young people as a basis for training skilled workers and specialists and the comprehensive development of the individual in light of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum.

A.T. Gavrillov

At the initiative of the Demography Department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, the Soviet Sociological Association and the Tajik SSR Gosplan, a discussion has taken place in Dushanbe on the problems of migration behavior in the population of the Central Asian republics. In her presentation S.Yu. Isayeva described the specific features of employment in the able-bodied population. Each year, she said, 25 percent to 30 percent of the able-bodied rural population is engaged in domestic activities and private subsidiary farming. The reason for this situation is the high natural population growth in that region combined with a low level of mobility and the limited number of work places. In Tajikistan alone, by the year 2000 the increase in manpower will total more than 1 million; this was emphasized by the deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR State Committee for Labor and Socialism Problems Yu.G. Gaytgoriya; the number of work vacancies will

be three times less. Accordingly, increasing the mobility of the indigenous population is being priority among the economic tasks facing the republic.

Given the annual increase in the size of the able-bodied population (up to 70,000), Tajik SSR Gosplan section chief I.S. Volokhin noted, the increased number of work places is insignificant. Hence, one scenario for providing work for the entire population of the republic is migration outside the region. As USSR Gosplan associate G.V. Koponev emphasized, here not all of the eastern and central regions of the RSFSR need additional manpower, and moreover, immigrants from the Central Asian republics have difficulty in adapting in other places. Therefore it would be more rational to redistribute manpower within Central Asia.

Material from empirical studies conducted during the Seventies and Eighties in the Central Asian region presented by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research Demography Department showed that the concentration of a significant proportion of the able-bodied population in rural localities is the result of lack of agreement between economic and demographic development. In recent years, however, rural migration in the region has been increasing influencing the redistribution of population and manpower between the city and the countryside. Thus, the scientific secretary of the Tashkent University problem scientific and technical laboratory B.Ya. Goldfarb pointed to material from sociological studies and she showed that migration mobility among the indigenous population has increased by a factor of six over the past 15 years. Zh.A. Zayonchkovskaya, a sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography, also noted this in her statement, and she emphasized that social mobility precedes territorial mobility, and that studies of this confirm that the level of mobility among the indigenous populations of these republics is increasing. During the Seventies the proportion of all national cadres in industry, trade and transport increased much more compared with the preceding decade. In order to develop migration mobility among the indigenous population it is essential to develop the industry that services agriculture, and also the services sphere.

V.I. Perevedentsev considers that migration mobility can be increased by developing secondary education, orienting young people on the urban way of life, vocational training for young people right there in the rural localities, and by creating conditions for the relocation of the rural population in the cities and its sociopsychological adaptation.

Those attending the meeting agreed to coordinate scientific research work and exchange methodological and organizational experience and specific results of population polls.

G.F. Morozova

The profound changes taking place in the national economy require a review of existing ideas about the role and place of the sociologist at enterprises and associations and in the sectors. Associates of scientific institutions and plant sociologists met in the Moscow House of Scientific and Technical Propaganda to discuss the problems that have arisen in this regard. The work took place within the framework of four sections.

Speaking at the meeting devoted to methodological support for sociological work in production, chief sociologist of the Main Administration for the Moscow Gorispolkom Automobile Transport [Glavmosavtotrans], V.V. Shcherbina, noted that when solving standard tasks the plant sociologist ignores the methodological experience gained by his colleagues at other enterprises, which naturally leads to gross errors that devalue the results of studies. Improvement in the effectiveness of plant sociology can be made on the basis of using standard methodologies (social technologies). But even these are by no means always devised by professionals. The speaker criticized the extensively used method called "Group Personality Evaluation." One radical defect in all its versions is the impossibility of dealing with the problem of the gal effect and other sources of systematic errors affecting expert evaluations.

Candidate of pedagogical sciences I.G. Stolyar (Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems) told those present that since the adoption of the Law on the State Enterprise a new client who is interested in public opinion studies at enterprises has appeared for sociologists, namely, the labor collective council. Sociologists of the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work have developed a method for organizing the elections of collective leaders, devising systems for collective contracts, reducing the incidence of illness, the adaptation by young people to production, and determining the needs of enterprise workers for housing. Sociologists in Glavmosavtotrans have devised a methodology for assessing a candidate for middle-level management positions and the soundness of changes in the makeup of a brigade in order to improve the efficiency of its activities. The Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems Work Study Center had devised a methodology for determining the level of social development in a collective, recommendations for organizing mentorship and so forth.

There was lively discussion of questions concerning the place and role of social technologies in sociological work in production. In the opinion of candidate of philosophical sciences A.A. Gaykova (the Ministry of the Automotive Industry) social technologies as a tool for the work of the plant sociologist do not meet present-day tasks. They are constructed according to a model of technologies applied in material production, which makes them ineffective in solving social problems. The rigid framework of these documents does not permit their development and excludes the possibility of switching them from one

sector to another. The introduction of social technologies is usually taking place as an administrative-command procedure. In Gaykova's opinion, the main flaw in this kind of approach lies in its orientation not on the development of enterprises and organizations but on their current functioning.

It is impossible to divorce questions concerning development from questions of the functioning of the production organization; in contrast to Gaykova, this is what candidate of philosophical sciences Ye.L. Shrayber (Glavmosavtotrans) thinks. Development is seen first and foremost in more efficient fulfillment of the main production function. Social technologies developed and used by sociologists in Glavmosavtotrans insure practical involvement by the latter in accomplishing this function. A certain similarity in the construction of social technologies with which other services work promotes integration of the sociologist in the production system and prevents the administration and the collective from perceiving him as a "foreign body" at the enterprise. Although a social technology is a ready-made working tool, its use is a creative process. Technologies may be renewed and improved and be quite flexible in order to take into account the specific nature of a particular production situation.

During the discussion of involvement by the social development services in social management at an enterprise and in sectors of the national economy, candidate of philosophical sciences V.I. Yermakov (the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems) defined four main functions for those services: planning-and-forecasting (social planning and forecasting), social engineering (development and introduction of social technologies), information and research, and consultation and propaganda. The shortage of professional sociologists is harming successful fulfillment of these functions. The shortage is being felt acutely in industry. Thus, for example, since the creation of the department for training of sociologists at the Moscow Management Institute imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, 550 special applications have been received from enterprises in the country, and there are only 50 places!

A.A. Shterman (a scientific production association) noted that under the conditions in which enterprises are switching to full cost accounting, information on social forecasting is needed from sociologists to support management decisions. Experience shows that it is not possible to reliably predict people's behavior on the basis of verbal work methods (questionnaires, interviews and so forth). Sociologists must use the methods of indirect measuring (psychological testing), situational analysis, game theory, and computer system modeling (planning the social sphere of the enterprise).

In her speech N.Yu. Fedorova (USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems) noted that the use of social norms and normativs, matching the socioeconomic and technological elements of production, and

shaping appropriate functions for the management services constitute one direction in improving planning at the enterprise. The development and realization of social norms for labor are now in their initial stage. It is now essential to improve their classification and the methodology for calculating each group, and to devise criteria for optimal norm values and a procedure for their use in planning.

Candidate of psychological sciences I.G. Kokurina (Moscow State University) shared the results of psychological diagnosis at an enterprise. Researchers effected a switch from diagnosis of the collective to diagnosis of the entire organization, using the following principles: calculation of the criteria for function and development, comparison of the strong and weak elements of the organization, the principle of economic sampling, intersection methods, focusing on a specific type of effect and so forth. Variables such as involvement in the organization and emotional attitude were used to evaluate functioning; innovative potential and openness were used to assess development.

During the discussion of questions associated with the use of game methods in management, economic and research activity, the main speaker, Yu.L. Kotlyarevskiy (the Association of Youth Clubs in Odessa) noted the need for the sociologist to construct a systematic position since the object of study is the individual and group of individuals. He used specific examples to show the typical path of production innovations, moving along the chain "development—fabrication—operation," and he revealed the "zones of the unrealizable"—the troublesome points in the system. In his opinion, task solving with regard to social and production innovations should be directed toward compensating for or removing the phenomenon of unrealizability in engineering developments. Games that initially seem for those participating a sharp debating form for learning the standards of business intercourse pass on to the subject that is urgent for the user (or client). By acting as a catalyst for effective activity, for a broad range of specialists games enable them to pass beyond the framework of the professional norms, values and reporting indicators associated with their own positions and learn to think and act systematically.

S.M. Shurkin (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research) suggested a scheme for the business game "Developing Principles for Strategy and Tactics in the Management of an Enterprise (or Organization)." In his opinion, this game makes it possible to teach managers the skills of formulating and analyzing management problems as individuals or in groups, and of seeking out effective approaches to collective work on problems and on strategy and tactics in developing an enterprise.

Thus, as V.V. Shcherbina noted in conclusion, two positions were clearly set forth at the seminar: the research approach, stemming from labor sociology in the Sixties and Seventies, and the activity approach, which sociology is approaching as a comprehensive subject.

Candidate of philosophical sciences O.B. Gavrilovskaya (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research) informed those present that a management social consultation service has been set up under the aegis of the Soviet Sociological Association.

A collection of articles has been published using material from the seminar ("Aktivatsiya ispolzovaniya sotsialnykh rezervov proizvodstva" [Activating the Use of Social Reserves in Production], Moscow, "Znaniye" Society Publishing House, 1988, offset duplication).

A.V. Streke and Ye.L. Shrayber

The fourth traditional gathering of sociologists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia has taken place in Palanga. The Baltic branch of the Soviet Sociological Association was set up in 1975 and since then it has been successfully carrying out its main task, namely, uniting the efforts of sociologists in the three Baltic republics and comprehensively studying the social processes taking place in one of the most important regions of our country. During these years the numbers of collective and individual members of the Soviet Sociological Association there have reached 68 and 298 respectively. At the same time there has been noticeable qualitative growth. In 1975 there was only one doctor of sciences in applied sociology in the region, but over the past 10 years seven sociologists in the Baltic have successfully defended their doctoral work, along with a large number of candidate level theses. In this connection, a regional specialized council for doctoral dissertation in applied sociology has been set up under the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law.

This meeting of the Baltic sociologists was devoted to the problem of the human factor. The chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, candidate of economic sciences S. Imbrasas, and vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association, doctor of philosophical sciences professor V.A. Yadov, helped to set a business-like tone in the discussions of those attending the conference. Yadov's speech included a detailed examination of the thesis that perestroika is associated with a new self-definition of sociology under the conditions of growing social changes. It is a question of direct participation by sociologists in innovative processes and public movements and the realization of specific slogans and the tasks of present-day development in Soviet society. Doctor of philosophical sciences R. Grigas linked the difficulties in activating the human factor with the viability of the metaphysical paradigm and the inadequate state of development in the dialectical style of thinking. This, in particular, explains the unreadiness of various elements in social production, from rank-and-file executives to the top echelons of management, to solve the main

tasks in the industrial sphere and deal with the organizational-functional and sociopsychological contradictions typical of the activity of individual enterprises. The report of candidate of economic sciences, docent M. Pavelson, dealing with problems of horizontal communication between city and enterprise, emphasized the historically shaped specifics of growth and change in urban territorial communities. The diversity of these social organisms, he noted, is the guarantee for diversity in the "social" gene bank of our society.

The report of candidate of philosophical sciences docent M. Lauristin was devoted to the sociological aspect of glasnost. Glasnost influences the resolution of an entire range of social problems, she said. Notwithstanding, attempts are being made to cast doubt on the purposefulness in its further development by making reference to the danger of unforeseeable reactions as a consequence of the sharp expansion of information made available to the people and the undermining of ingrained authorities and ideas. Under these conditions, work on a sociological theory of glasnost is an urgent matter.

Presentations by candidate of historical sciences M. Artmane, doctor of philosophical sciences A. Matulenis, and doctor of philosophical sciences Professor M. Titma were prepared on the basis of material from a longitudinal study of youth conducted in 15 regions of the country, on the theme "The Inclusion of Youth in the Working Class, Kolkhoz Peasantry and Intelligentsia." These speakers drew attention to the importance of studying entire regional structures and the role of the individual himself in them.

Discussion of problems in theory and practical work in sociological studies was continued in the section meetings. Questions concerning dealing with socialism's main contradiction between production forces and production relations were the focus of attention in industrial sociology (Z. Morkunas and others). It was emphasized that in this sphere there is no well-tuned mechanism for social management that is oriented mainly not on development but only on supporting the functioning of enterprises, and more broadly, production organizations (A. Belenavichus). A certain confusion in the subject of management and its reluctance to eradicate bureaucracy and introduce innovation is also important; resources that improve production efficiency are undervalued and the possibilities of the national potential of the human factor are not taken into account (K. Uoka). Rigidly formalized methods for planning social development are collapsing (V. Grigutis). Centralized management is accompanied by increased bureaucracy, which to this day dominates over democratic trends in leadership. Even brigades, not to mention the higher elements of the production organization, continue to be formed "from above," which undermines their ability to function and compromises the very idea of collective, common labor (A. Alishauskas). Flexible forms for the organization of labor (for example, flexitime) are the exception rather than the rule (I. Sheshkyavichus). Sociologists are skillful enough

to reveal shortcomings and breakdowns in the mechanism of social management but they do not suggest sound and comprehensive methods (or programs) to solve these problems. Hence the low prestige of the sociological services at enterprises, which in most cases have no association with academy and VUZ science. Coordination of research in the field of industrial sociology and introduction of the results of sociological studies is a task of priority importance.

Sociologists in the countryside have been focusing their attention mainly on goal-oriented studies of rural social-territorial communities. In Latvia the creation of a republic research center for the social division of the countryside has helped in achieving this goal. In the Latvian Agricultural Academy they are already working according to unified plans and methods. Sociologists have expressed their concern about the outdated nature of information in the hands of researchers. Most data at their disposal were collected in "pre-perestroika" times and are not only meager but also bear the imprint of all kinds of unsound prohibitions of the period of stagnation.

In their section the urban sociologists reviewed three groups of issues: the urban environment, urban communities and institutionalized organs and structures. It was emphasized that objective setting of a time inequivalence and spatial heterogeneity for regional development are factors that work for perestroika. The section outlined various ways to realize research programs. The first is to give preference to diachronic monograph studies of cities in the Soviet Baltic over synchronous (comparative) studies. The second is consideration of the short-term and longer-term prospects in the development of urbanization processes (for example, it is now difficult to deny the formation of a Tallinn-Narva-Leningrad urbanized zone or to predict a situation that is becoming a practical task). The third way is the reaction to actual disproportion in urban growth, resulting from the interests of territorial communities and disparate parts and elements of those communities (families, ethnocultural groups, neighborhood communities), which are often at variance with the interests of enterprises and other institutionalized subjects constructed in the "environment" of a territorial community. The fourth way is research on the reproduction (or decay) of the territorial community and the subjects being formed at all levels. The fifth way is associated with work on mechanisms for the democratic development of territorial communities. Attempts by "extraterritorial" organs to remain superior to these communities (instead of curbing departmental appetites) constitute one of the chief dangers for the present and the future of today's cities. And finally, yet another way: growth in the interdisciplinary links between urban sociologists. Seeing a city as a regional center brings the sociologist and the geographer closer together. Perception of a city not simply as a center but also a regional market highlights the importance of alliance between the sociologists and the economist. It is

impossible to get by without the psychologist when the quality of life and the environment in a new region must be evaluated.

Family sociologists were unanimous that the central problem of their research is the search for new ways to strengthen the institution of marriage and increase people's satisfaction with their own family relationships.

It was stated in this section that a certain vacuum has been formed around the family. Society has not properly taken into account the special role of the family world, while at the same time a number of processes—the intergenerational transmission of culture and the organization of people's own cultural activity—depend on this (V. Golofast). The phenomenon that has been called "duality of moral regulation," when the open language used for dealings within the family differs from the official language that a child learns at school, is a cause for special concern. The duality leads to hypocrisy, rejection of values generally accepted by society, and a breakdown in educational programs and preparation for life (D. Seps). Unless this is dealt with it will be impossible to improve social relations in the country.

In the sphere of studies of mass communications, having gained experience in research and obtained significant results, sociologists (mainly in Estonia) now have an opportunity to analyze the long-term trends in communication processes, deepen ideas about the perception of information by the individual and the group, and improve their tools (in particular, the technique of content analysis for the content of mass information). The excessive pragmatism of individual studies and the extreme simplicity of a number of theoretical constructs that are at variance with the complexity of the processes of social communication, remain troublesome for sociologists. The main theme of the discussion here was the problem of glasnost, the democratization of information processes, and enhancing the role of public opinion in the everyday activity of the mass information organs. Special interest was shown in an analysis of new forms of television broadcasting (Leningrad and Riga), and proposals to generate a typology of awareness shaped under the influence of television and radio and the press. As before, the person of the communicator (the journalist, the commentator, the anchorperson, the observer) remains little studied. Sociologists are standing aside from analysis and the shaping of norms for journalistic ethics in our society. It was decided to discuss all these issues at the next interpublic seminar devoted to problems of comparative study of mass communications, including their ethical and cultural aspects.

Those present in the section on the sociological problems of youth and education started their discussion with an attempt to rethink the theme of research. It was recognized that questions concerning working and rural youth, students at vocational and technical schools and the family life of the rising generation have been let slip in studies in recent years. The main task is to understand

youth and help it to recognize itself. A dispute arose on the subject of the attributes of youth problems: are they problems of a society or are they born out of the very fact of the existence of a rising generation? In the latter case, in addition to successful resolution of questions of socialization, concern must be shown to offer broader opportunities for youth in the form of special systems of guarantees. Touching on the advisability of devising a special "Youth Law," those present in the section emphasized that it is necessary to present a detailed system for guaranteeing diverse activities for young people, including realization of their material, social, cultural and psychological needs and requirements. The question was also raised of organizing sociological help for youth: preparing it to manage society, acquiring the skills of socially useful activity, legalization of various unofficial associations. It was decided to offer special encouragement for the work of authors engaged in the search for positive values and setting the tasks associated with dealing with inertia in thinking, the privatization of relationships between young people with respect to society, and humanization of interpersonal relations in the youth environment.

In the sociological problems of medicine section, health as a social value and the significance of activating the human factor for the further development of preventive medicine were discussed. The formal declaration of the importance of health not underpinned by appropriate activity and a material base has led to a marked devaluation of the concept of "health" within the system of the main ideas about the values of life. The "paradox of public health," has taken shape in society, whereby no real link has been established between spending to develop public health and improvement in the public health. Increased spending for medicine and improving the level of medical care does not compensate for the effect of negative factors in the way of life on the health. Sociologists see one way of changing the situation in shaping in people convictions and motivations that promote a spread in the healthy way of life. Sociology should also turn to the study of the social aspects in the activity of medical personnel and factors that enhance receptivity. Conservatism in the professional consciousness is complicating, if not hampering, practical realization of major comprehensive programs in the public health field. This fact once again shows that the human factor also directly affects the rates of perestroika in any sphere of society's life activity.

The sections dealing with the sociology of party work and of demography also made their contributions to the general success of the conference. In the former the extremely alarming problems of studying forces not interested in the successful course of perestroika were discussed; in the latter, questions connected with work on goal-oriented programs for population development and in-depth and comprehensive study of its qualitative characteristics (defective children, individuals with special diseases and so forth) were discussed.

On the whole the professional meeting of sociologists showed the high degree of their involvement in studying the urgent problems of life in their own regions and the development of all of Soviet society.

B. M. Firsov

The regular annual session of the Soviet Sociological Association section for the sociology of organization and management that took place in December 1987 was devoted to problems and methods in social diagnostics. The diagnostic approach to society and social processes and organizations is a relatively new direction in theory and practice, but today the need for it is growing sharply. Why? Responding to this question, those present at the session noted that this sphere of sociological activity is oriented directly on management and the search for and resolution of problems that arise (Zh.T. Toshchenko, Moscow).

S.I. Kordon (Perm), a specialist who is engaged in this work, emphasized that it goes beyond the framework of traditional cognitive postulation and is being actively introduced in practical work. It is the researcher who is simultaneously the "doer" (V.P. Potapov, Moscow). But in the opinion of A.S. Kazarnovskiy (Voroshilovgrad) this viewpoint somewhat oversimplifies the situation. The interests of many subjects intersect in this sphere of activity: organization and management specialists, managers, applied sociologists, cultural experts and so forth. Specific tasks are advanced depending on the position with regard to social diagnostics. A.V. Fadin (Moscow) also talked about the need to consider the latter in a broad context. The processes of democratization are giving life to mass initiatives and people's desire to be independent subjects in social creativity. However, society, first and foremost the traditional political structures, is still not ready for the development of self-management.

A lively discussion developed on another key problem: what is social diagnostics and what are its main tasks? In the opinion of A.I. Prigozhin (Moscow), it is a form of social technology for the production of information. It is essential to separate the concepts of "research" and "diagnostics." In the latter it is essential to have a constructive foundation, while in the former this is by no means always the case. The task for this activity is to structure the field of the problems revealed. Essentially it is a reflex process and change in the ideas existing in the organization of oneself. For professional diagnostics always has an element of the nontrivial approach. Developing this viewpoint. E.E. Terk (Tallinn) laid emphasis on two circumstances. First, diagnostics should be of a comprehensive, interdisciplinary nature. Second, it is distinguished from scientific research primarily because

it is subordinate to the logic of the process of consultation. S.V. Khaynesh (Moscow) supported the idea that the task is not only evaluation and classification but also the search for solutions to problems.

If a problem is considered as the gap between what is desired and what is (V.S. Dudchenko, Yaroslavl), then three main classes of problems can be distinguished: 1) cognitive problems (what the real state of an object is); 2) design problems (what is the state desired?); 3) practical management problems (methods to translate an actual state of affairs into a desired state). Correspondingly, the diagnostic methods used should depend on the task.

What are the main directions and methods? In the opinion of S.V. Khaynesh, it is necessary to start by constructing a problem "field"—a diagram of associated problems. And they must be analyzed on a multiple basis, according to degree of importance and their effect one on the other, their acuteness, their scale, and the possibilities for resolution and evolution. The most important condition for successful diagnosis is reaching the level of problems that makes it possible to make real changes in organization. E.E. Terk distinguished another fundamental condition. A consultant working with a client is constantly solving the dilemma of what should be the subject of his concern: improving the effectiveness of an organization in the near term or the prospects for its development. Each of these alternatives assumes its own strategy for diagnosis.

During the course of the discussion it was emphasized that the management system is the closest direct object of diagnosis. One of the main complexities here is that statements by leaders constitute the main source for formulating the problem. Meanwhile, the contradictions existing in an organization are not always adequately recognized by its workers. In this connection E.E. Terk noted that in addition to the administration it is also necessary to conduct diagnostic interviews with the clients of the organization and with managers at a higher level. On the basis of the information thus obtained a matrix is constructed to reflect the weak and strong aspects of the organization and its destabilizing factors and possibilities.

But of course, as A.I. Prigozhin rightly emphasized, the most important task is positional analysis in the organization, that is, determining the lines of demarcation, stresses and opposing groups and subsystems. This is precisely the significance of constructive material for further work, for example in conducting practical business games. In this connection the speaker enumerated what are in his opinion the most typical problems: domination of vertical links with undeveloped horizontal links, duplication in managerial decisions on organizational norms, and poor implementation of decisions made. A.I. Prigozhin told about one effective method for rapid diagnosis, namely, the problem matrix, which is

filled out by the leadership of an organization. Expert computer processing of the results makes it possible to construct link graphs for problems and analyze cause-and-effect links.

S.V. Khaynesh proposed a somewhat different but also productive scheme. He offered the following classification for problems: claims made against the leading person in an organization by its personnel, and divergence of ideas about the problems existing in the top management echelon, and also between managers, regarding its middle and lower levels. He laid particular stress on the circumstance that diagnostics must be combined with a study of the collective.

Discussion of this subject ended with the unexpected, namely, an attempt to evaluate it again in the sociocultural context. In the opinion of V.V. Potapov, the numerous difficulties in the game movement and business consulting, and their inadequate activity potential result primarily from the defects of the administrative-command management system and its refusal to accept really scientific and constructive developments. Developing this thought, A.I. Prigozhin emphasized that to some extent the game movement is making up for the lack of traditions of informal business dealings and open discussion of problems. It is an attempt to form feedback loops in bureaucratic structures, which are virtually absent there. Up to now the main result of business games has been creating the effect of a forum, an area of communication for joint, equal discussion of an organization's problems.

The session showed that the labor collectives remain the theoretical and practical testing ground for social diagnostics in the country. A number of interesting technologies have been developed for use here. With regard to larger social objects and systems, the purely research approach still dominates.

S.K. Yefremov. Moscow

There are no open opponents of self-management. Today, as in the recent past, no one speaks out against democracy in production. Everyone is for it. But only if it is a question of collectives that have "matured" to self-management. One became convinced of the fact that this kind of division of collectives exists when listening to the statements made by those attending the "Production Self-Management: Experience, Theory, Practice" scientific-practical conference organized by the Soviet Sociological Association. The leitmotif in most of the presentations could be summed up as support for the ideas of real self-management and warnings about imaginary self-management.

Not only associates of scientific establishments but also representatives of plants, factories and construction projects took part in the discussion. There was lively

debate on the problems of setting up labor collective councils and their operation as the leading subjects in production self-management. It is common knowledge that this council is elected by a general meeting of the labor collective. But this is only in collectives no larger than several hundred. But where there are thousands of workers the council is elected by a conference in which only some of the collective is involved. And here, delegates are either elected at a meeting of the primary collective or appointed by the administration. The different methods used to make up the composition of the conference lead to different results. The indeterminate nature and ambiguity of these methods involves the possibility of manipulation and selection of the kind of body of voters (electorate) that is obedient to and convenient for the administration or to some tendentious groups of workers.

There are many labor collective councils in which representatives of the administration dominate and which the leader of the enterprise leads the council. And although in February 1988 the AUCCTU and USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems recommendations were published on procedure for electing the labor collective councils that eliminates such extreme cases, the possibility of electing a council that insures only some imaginary self-management remains; the administration and the public organizations can propose a meeting or conference before a single list of candidates has been agreed.

What groups of enterprise workers should be on the councils? How can young people, women, specialists and other social groups be represented? How essential is it to elect members of the council at a general meeting? Is it not advisable to apply the principle of delegation, whereby the collective of a subdivision elects its own representative to the council? In his presentation A.V. Shubin (Moscow) tried to answer these questions by reviewing the different ways in which elected management organs have been elected historically.

Creation of a labor collective council assumes that a number of functions that were previously carried out by the administration are now transferred to it: monitoring the fulfillment of production plans and contractual obligations, improving management and the organizational structure of the enterprise, using the production development, material incentive and social development funds, training personnel and improving their skills and so forth. The administration and the trade unions can more easily transfer to the organ of self-management the adoption of unpopular decisions, for example, altering wage rates. The breadth of functions for the labor collective council often gives rise to justified doubts about the trade union committee, which becomes unnecessary at the enterprise. And at the same time, while answers are being sought to these and many other questions, many councils are more like a consultative

organ for the director than a body assigned serious powers. Candidates of economic sciences V.I. Gerchikov (Novosibirsk) and Ye.Ya. Zhigurs (Balashikha) spoke about this.

The elective nature of economic leaders is today a sign of perestroika in public life in the USSR. Even yesterday almost all leaders were appointed, but tomorrow they will be elected. Already (according to state statistical figures for the end of 1987) more than 30,000 labor collectives in industry are being led by elected workers; in construction the figure is about 6,000. This kind of expansion of electivity and the rapid qualitative change can only be called revolutionary. At the same time, elections for leaders at many enterprises are proceeding with difficulty and with sharp clashes of opinions and interests. Examples were cited at the conference showing cases in which opponents of electivity, fearing people's growing activity, have made the elections a farce, and hiding behind the shield of discussions about democratization have done everything possible to retain the command-administrative method of management.

One method of substituting imaginary electivity for the real thing is connected with the activity of the competition commission, which is designed to organize the elections. The AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems recommend that the competition commission include representatives of the labor collective council, the administration, and party, trade union and other public organizations, and also leading workers, scientific associates, and leading specialists from their own and other enterprises and from higher management organs. The election results depend largely on the makeup of the competition commission and on how it organizes its work. Essentially the commission can predetermine their outcome in line with the interests of particular groups by presenting their own candidates to the meeting (or conference) of the labor collective. Those speaking cited cases in which the commission had guaranteed the passage of a candidate actually determined by a higher organ by covering the traditional appointment with a cloak of democracy. The possibility of making the election of leaders real rather than imaginary is preserved only in cases in which the competition commissions are not appointed by order of the director and are not set up by a joint decision of the administration and the labor collective council, but are democratically elected at a meeting.

The law defines one form for the election of any leader. But whereas a brigade leader or foreman or other lower-level manager can be elected directly at a general meeting since everyone is well acquainted with the candidates and the content of their work, in the election of an enterprise director the competence of many of those present at a general meeting is problematical. By no means everyone has a clear-cut idea about the functions of a director or about the candidates for that post, and consequently cannot formulate the requirements made of candidates and of their knowledge and capabilities.

And what if an "outsider" is nominated? In this case a many-thousand-strong collective is not competent to elect a director but is forced to do so. In this case the election is merely a semblance of democracy. Moreover, under the law the higher leadership has the right to refuse to confirm a candidate elected by a collective and to insist on new elections. Many of the meetings described by the speakers at the conference took place without spirit because those participating thought that "the people in charge will do what they have to do." At the same time certain guarantees are needed to prevent democracy from turning to chaos. Candidates of philosophical science Ya.S. Kapelyush (Moscow) and Ye.P. Starodubtseva (Sverdlovsk) and candidate of economic sciences (A.S. Kazarnovskiy (Voroshilovgrad) talked about these and other specific problems in realization of electivity for leaders.

Those attending the scientific-practical conference also raised other urgent questions concerning self-management. Thus, we must agree with V.I. Gerchikov, who emphasized the great importance of glasnost as a most important prerequisite for self-management. He noted that self-management can be real only on condition that the workers are fully informed about the activity of the enterprise.

A.V. Shubin formulated the priority task for production self-management as follows: extricating the labor collectives from the regime of executive activity and placing them in a regime of management dialogue, and a joint quest (with the enterprise administration) for mutually satisfactory decisions. Enterprise management is regarded as a complex problem. So how can the non-professionals—the members of the labor collectives and the rank-and-file enterprises workers participating in self-management—cope with it? Candidate of technical sciences Ya.L. Eydelman (Vladimir) answered this question: rejection of the command-administrative method and bureaucratic machinery simplifies management, which is now excessively complex. In the opinion of doctor of historical sciences L.A. Gordon (Moscow), there should be different forms to realize self-management for enterprises that in terms of numerical strength of workers, sector affiliation and other attributes do not match. In particular, effective personal cooperation is possible only in a visible collective. Doctor of philosophical sciences A.I. Prigozhin (Moscow) noted the internal contradictions in the mechanism of democracy: formal equality in voting with actual inequality of the votes of active and passive members of the collective. The development of democracy is being held back not only by bureaucracy but also by the consciousness of the masses themselves, who are indoctrinated in the clichés of command-pressure management. Accordingly, participation in management is not a gift for the workers and not merely the realization of the natural right of the civilized person; it is also a condition for a higher level of labor activity. Those attending the conference unanimously concluded that the practice of self-management

today in the labor collectives is rapidly outstripping theoretical work in this field and they essentially issued orders to scientific to deal with this lagging.

S.Ya. Kapelyush

A meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Soviet Sociological Association Presidium Board took place in June 1988 at which, inter alia, questions connected with preparations for the next, 12th World Sociological Congress were discussed. It was noted at the meeting that in March 1988 the Executive Committee and Program Committee of the International Sociological Association (Rome, Italy) had finally decided on a venue for the congress and its main theme. A draft program has been drawn up for the 12th Congress. It will take place in Spain in 1990. The main theme will be "Sociology for One World: Unity and Diversity." The program includes six symposia: 1) "The Universal Approach and Different Paradigms"; 2) "Changing Social Structures and Global Interdependence"; 3) "New Technologies and Societal Trends"; 4) "Global Problems and Social Resources for Survival"; 5) "New Figures and New Individualities"; 6) "Moral Issues in the Global Society." It is planned to hold 24 sessions (four in each symposium). Of the six symposium organizers, three are representatives from the socialist countries, namely, Bulgaria, Poland and the USSR (corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G.V. Osipov). Session leaders include six Soviet scholars: academician T.I. Zaslavskaya, Professor O.I. Shkaratan, Professor A.G. Zdravomyslov, Professor I.S. Kon, Professor B.A. Grushin and Professor I.A. Antonovich.

A meeting of the All-Union "Znaniye" Society Commission of Lecture Skills took place 27 April 1988. It discussed the problem "Sociological Research as a Tool of Perestroyka in Lecture Propaganda." The following took part in the discussion: doctor of philosophical sciences Professor Zh.T. Toshchenko, doctor of philosophical sciences Professor N.N. Bokarev, doctor of philosophical sciences Professor G.T. Zhuravlev, doctor of philosophical sciences Professor A.S. Kulagin, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR "Znaniye" Society Board A.A. Skrupskyalis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR "Znaniye" Society candidate of philosophical sciences I.P. Severchuk, candidate of philosophical sciences docent A.L. Marshak, candidate of philosophical sciences and leader of the Belorussian SSR "Znaniye" Society Group of Sociologists M.M. Yenshin, candidate of philosophical sciences and chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research Gorkiy branch S.S. Balabanov, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research Center for the Study of Public Opinion R.Kh. Simonyan, secretary of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA V.A.

Popov, candidate of physicomathematical sciences and "Znaniye" Society Kirov rayon, Moscow city, branch board member A.B. Doktorovich, candidate of economic sciences and docent at the Moscow Higher Party School L.A. Tyugay, and consultant to the All-Union "Znaniye" Society Board candidate of historical sciences Zh.Ye. Ivanova. It was noted in the statements that a positive shift has now been seen in methodological support for sociological research on lecture propaganda and that organizations of the "Znaniye" Society are now paying more attention to the recommendations of the sociologists. It was decided to hold a scientific-practical conference in 1989 devoted to urgent questions of sociological research into lecture propaganda.

A.G. Chilikidi. Moscow.

A group of scholars from 15 regions of the country, led by Professor M.Kh. Titma, has been working for 5 years within the framework of the research project "The Inclusion of Youth in the Working Class, Kolkhoz Peasantry and Intelligentsia." Material from the first stage of the study, which covered about 48,000 graduates from secondary schools, vocational and technical schools and tekhnikums in Siberia, Central Asia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus, Central Russia, Moldavia, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics, has been generalized. During the period of the research, meetings of the coordination council have been held twice a year. The latest meeting, which took place in Palanga, reviewed organizational and methodological questions for the second stage of the research, which has been called "Ways, Roads." Scholars face the difficult task of finding their respondents—graduates from the year that the study was initiated.

L.A. Koklyagina

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'The Way It Was'; An Interview with G.V. Osipov
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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 88
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[Interview with corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G.V. Osipov by V.A. Popov; date and place not specified]

[Text] Science under the conditions of the regime of I. Stalin's personal power is a truly tragic theme. Interest in it is intensifying literally with each passing day, as the letters to the editor eloquently testify. We must give our readers their due; they do not thirst for vengeance, they have no desire to settle accounts, but they have an urge for justice. "What I would like," writes N. Garkavtsev from Sudzha city in Kursk Oblast, "is that the real names be named. Villainy is villainy, but the highest quality of

the soul is the lofty word. The truth about the past is essential in order to clean up the present. For if a person knows that what is secret will certainly become known, he and his line of behavior will most probably prefer to take this circumstance into account. In other words, he will prefer to live in a worthy manner but at least without fear of the judgment of his contemporaries and his posterity. The moral potential of truth is enormous. Among the social forms determining life activity, truth is a supernorm." G. Lukash from Volgograd reminds us that the fate of sociology was also not bright either during the years of Stalin's absolute rule or in subsequent decades. "How was Soviet sociology established?" asks A. Danilchenkov from Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy city in Rostov Oblast. Editorial associate V.A. Popov talks about all of that with corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G.V. Osipov. For more than 30 years he has been working in sociology and much of what is history for young sociologists was everyday for this veteran scholar, and became what might be called his "personal affair."

[Popov] On 12 May the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the question of developing sociological studies and training for specialists in sociology. A corresponding decree was adopted. This is perhaps the first party document in 70 years that is devoted entirely to sociology. Not a bad occasion for looking back and assessing the path that has been trod...

[Osipov] The fate of sociology has indeed been difficult, and sometimes even tragic. After the October the young Soviet society had an acute need of sociological knowledge, because relying on this it would have been possible to effect qualitative change in the social life of society. Even in the most difficult years (1918-1926) the publication of works on sociological questions occupied a leading place in the humanities, and special social experiments were conducted. Moreover, in 1920 the country's first sociology institute was established. The progressive development of science was artificially interrupted in the Thirties. Sociology was accused of being bourgeois pseudoscience, not only incompatible with Marxism but also hostile to it. Basic and applied studies in this field of knowledge were virtually halted. Sociology's "dismissal" as a science was preordained because its principles, theory and methods of cognition and assimilation of the social reality turned out to be incompatible with personal dictatorship and the voluntarism and subjectivism in the management of society and social processes. Scientific sociology was directly opposed to social apologetics. Year after year the official economic indicators and indicators for gross output testified to the "improved" well-being of society, while the social indicators, that is, indicators reflecting actual satisfaction of people's needs, indicators for output quality, and the forms established to market it indicated the reverse, a decline in the social well-being of the people and increased social tension. The latter thus contradicted the former. But the former met the interests of personal or bureaucratic power, and were an ideological weapon

with which social mythology was advanced. And as a result, social mythology was raised to the status of science, while real science was declared a bourgeois pseudoscience.

The revival of sociological studies started with the "Khrushchev thaw." The situation was paradoxical. Sociological studies gained the right of citizenship, but not sociology as a science. Accordingly, in order to avoid the endless disputes and conflicts that distracted specialists from their business, it became the current scientific custom to define sociology as a science dealing with specific sociological studies. During the "thaw" period serious research was done on social problems of the working class (Gorkiy city), labor (Leningrad), agriculture (the Moldavian SSR) and a number of others that have retained their scientific importance to this day.

The return to a regime of personal power and withdrawal from the principles of the "thaw" were accompanied by a frontal assault on sociological studies, as "playing into the hands of bourgeois ideology." But this assault, which threatened sociology with total destruction, was halted by former CPSU Central Committee secretary L.F. Ilichev, who announced in his report to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences that sociological research had obtained the "right of citizenship," while the view of sociology as an independent science "was not at variance with Marxism," and that it also has the "right of citizenship." Since that time attempts again to "dismiss" sociological research by administrative-command methods have ceased.

However, with respect to sociology as a science, another tactic was chosen. It was equated absolutely with historical materialism. An attempt was made to move sociological research beyond the boundaries of inherently sociological knowledge and reduce it only to a practical level. Theoretical sociology was totally denied. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in particular undertook many efforts aimed at slowing down the development of sociology and training personnel for it. This was V. Yelyutin and N. Mokhov personally.

The existing situation changed somewhat with the creation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Specific Social Studies (subsequently renamed the Institute of Sociological Research), to which it was possible to attract the best professional sociologists in the country. But the new "thaw" did not last long. The bureaucratic dictatorship of L. Brezhnev did not need sociology and moreover, sociology was in conflict with the narrow departmental attitude toward the social sphere in the life activity of society. And here we encountered another paradox. The institute brought into being by society's real needs was used as a means of administrative interference in the affairs of science, and to slow down its development.

The discussion of the problems of sociology in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo is of great significance for sociology. Sociology has not only been rehabilitated but also institutionalized and its most important role has been recognized as solving social problems in perestroika. Perestroika is first and foremost a return to common sense and the scientific management of society.

[Popov] Your answer has somewhat complicated the tasks that I set for myself when preparing for this interview with you. You have touched on the very important and, I would say, fundamental question of the relationship between historical materialism and sociology. Is it not the case that up to now historical materialism and sociology have been unable to delineate the subjects of their research?

[Osipov] The problem lies not in delineating the subjects of historical materialism and sociology. It is, in my view, much more complex. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries a trend was seen in various countries toward distinguishing sociology as an independent science of society. In some countries, in line with the national scientific traditions, it was propagated from philosophy, in others from economics and so forth. Having revealed the materialist understanding of history, Marxism laid the foundations for the construction of sociology as a scientific discipline, and for its theory and structure. Before I. Stalin very few Marxists cast doubt on the existence of sociology as an independent science. I. Stalin not only "dismissed" sociology in a practical way, but he substantiated his action theoretically. In the section "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism" written by I. Stalin for the short "History of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)" course, the entire field of scientific social knowledge was "returned" to the bosom of philosophical knowledge, despite the logic of the development philosophy and of the particular sciences. From that time on the most important, integral part of sociology—its general theory (the theory of social formations) and its special theories (the theory of classes, the theory of nations and so forth) and its chief conceptual apparatus and categories (method of production, state, nation and so forth) have been considered only on the philosophical level, that is, the abstract-theoretical level. Sociological methods for specific studies of society have not only been divorced from but even set against sociological knowledge as philosophical knowledge. This has all given rise to scholasticism and dogmatism and led to a situation in which the development of a social theory for Soviet society has remained at the level it was in the Thirties. I say nothing of the other dramatic consequences of I. Stalin's interference in the social sciences.

The first palpable blow against I. Stalin's philosophical concept was delivered by the jurists. They raised the question of the specific study of the theory on the state and elimination of the philosophical monopoly on this concept. And as USSR Academy of Sciences academician

G.A. Aksenenok reminds us, despite the desperate opposition, the battle was successfully won. But still, common sense notwithstanding, many of the theories and concepts of sociology (society, formation, classes, nations and so forth) are still regarded as philosophical categories. The institutionalization of sociology is making important changes in the "Stalinist structure" of philosophical knowledge. There is not nor can there be any kind of sociology without the sociological theory (historical materialism) of K. Marx, the concepts of society, formation, class, nation, personality and so forth. In other words, historical materialism is dismembered from the system of philosophical knowledge and has been joined (in practice) with the organically inherent instrumentarium of the sociological cognition of society and its social processes. Attributing the social form of the movement of matter to philosophical knowledge is the same as attributing to this knowledge, for example, the physical form of the movement of matter. It would be strange if philosophers started suddenly to experiment in the field of nuclear physics or do work on the problem of thermonuclear fusion. No less absurd a situation would be shaped if philosophers integrated into their own subject the social form of movement of matter and started to conduct concrete studies in the sphere of the microscopic and macroscopic world, social and sociopsychological compatibility, motivation for labor and so forth. These studies could be conducted only by professional sociologists possessing an appropriate instrumentarium for research, a mathematical apparatus and so forth. Sociological theory cannot be attributed to the sphere of philosophical knowledge, thus deliberately or unwittingly setting it in opposition to its sociological research. Hence it may be question of moving not to delineation of the subjects of historical materialism and sociology but rather of re-unifying into a single whole parts of a unified science that have been artificially torn apart.

The dismemberment of a whole body of science has given rise to abstract scholasticism on the one hand, and creeping empiricism on the other; it has signified a step backward even compared with non-Marxist sociology. There is not one single textbook of non-Marxist sociology (and I say this in all seriousness) in which an analysis has not been made of the categories of society, classes, nations, individuals and so forth. But for us the inclusion of these categories in a book on sociology, perestroika notwithstanding, is punishable administratively: such a book will not be published.

Why is this? It is because people's interests are affected here. For decades the thousands of scholars and researchers working in the field of historical materialism have been guided by the universally accepted concept that regards historical materialism as an organic and integral part of philosophy. Recognition of a new concept means changing old views and stereotypes. And this will not be done to order. Indeed, not everyone has the age and psychological capabilities to do this.

[Popov] I have before me a letter from Muscovite N. Loshkareva. She writes as follows: "Perhaps the problem

of the relationship between historical materialism, sociology and scientific communism must be resolved by delineating the object of study? Everyone could get together and agree that, for example, philosophers will work on problems of social formations while sociology works on labor and specialists in scientific communism work on the city and the countryside" What is your opinion of this?

[Osipov] The concept of "conventionalism" suggested by this reader is acceptable for the relationship between a man and his wife but not in science. Any object in the surrounding reality—social communities, labor, the countryside, the cities, science, art, and even biological phenomena, can be a subject for the most varied sciences. Thus, social communities (say cities or the countryside) can be the subject of research in economics, in physics, in architecture, in ecology, in sociology... The sciences differ in terms of subject, that is, the specific patterns that they are studying. The specific feature of sociological patterns is that they are patterns in the movement of people, mediated by the movement of things.

[Popov] As you understand it the institutionalization of sociology not only raises the problem of change in the structure of philosophical knowledge but also affects the question of the integral parts of Marxism. What have you to say about this?

[Osipov] The sources of Marxism, that is, the sources from which K. Marx and F. Engels proceeded, have always been one and the same. But it would be naive to suggest that the integral parts of Marxism will not change, will not be developed. With the development of the social sciences and the humanities, the scientific basis of Marxism is enriched and expanded; sociology is becoming one of the integral parts of Marxism.

[Popov] You have repeatedly asserted that sociological knowledge is the antithesis of voluntarism and subjectivism. Could you "decipher" this viewpoint?

[Osipov] Unrestricted power, sycophancy and obsequiousness are the nutrient roots of voluntarism and subjectivism. Ultimately their social consequences are irrational and authoritarian forms of behavior associated with both practical and theoretical activity. Only a person stupefied by power could consider the behavior of N. Khrushchev to be a manifestation of "statesmanlike wisdom" when he furiously hammered on the dais with his shoe during a session of the UN General Assembly. After such practical actions by the leader of a great power it seemed that nothing worse could happen. But the period of stagnation showed that in terms of its social consequences a carefully masked ignorance is much more terrible than obvious ignorance...

A shorthand record taken at random testifies to the voluntarism in science and the level at which "scientific" disputes took place at that time. This is the shorthand

record of a discussion of a concise dictionary of sociology in volume 2 of "Sociology in the USSR." It reproduces better than any article by a journalist the spiritual atmosphere in which those first steps were taken to assert sociology as an independent scientific discipline.

It would be rash to suggest that voluntarism is now totally a thing of the past and that common sense has triumphed. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of science, including sociology. The discussions and collective decisions of scholars, for example, about the forcible confiscation of personal savings from citizens (when they exceed a norm for which there is not even a consensus—some say R2,000 others R3,000) can only cause astonishment. Proposals are also advanced to abolish the right of inheritance and raise prices for foodstuffs to the same level as in the capitalist market. And all of this is given out as scientifically sound conclusions and recommendations. But in reality this is all the pure water of subjectivism and voluntarism. Such exercises have nothing in common with real science. Science relies on facts, in other words, on statistics, results, experiments, data from research work, and it gives due consideration to various scenarios for the consequences (social, political, ideological and so forth) of decisions made. We have more than 60 million pensioners here in the country. For most of them their pensions are not large. They support a normal living level largely through accumulations made earlier and stored in a savings bank. To confiscate part of their reserves could pauperize many people, apart from the fact that such a measure would have a sharply negative impact on the prestige of the state and radically undermine the principle of social legality. Neither can the circumstance that almost all national experiments in the social sphere are of an irreversible nature be disregarded.

[Popov] You have talked about the "first" assault on sociology. If there was a first, there must have been a second.

[Osipov] The second assault on sociology is connected with the names of S. Trapeznikov and V. Yagodkin. V. Yagodkin's role in the "leadership" of the social sciences can be compared to the role of A. Zhdanov. A pretext was needed to limit the sphere of sociological knowledge and "curb" the sociologists. And a pretext was found. Yu. Levada's "Lectures on Sociology" was published. Of course, I personally do not agree with all the propositions in the "Lectures." However, this is a question of scientific ethics and professional debate. The question of Yu. Levada's "Lectures" was switched to the administrative-party field. Ultimately, it was possible with great difficulty to oppose the pressure and Yu. Levada was allowed to remain in the party.

V. Yagodkin's second step enabled him to embark on a lightning career—criticism of the book "Modeling of Social Processes." Speaking at a Moscow party conference he manipulated quotations selected at random from the book, skillfully surrounding them with florid phrases.

He had but one aim—to depict the contents of the book as the institute's ideological harmful platform. V. Yagodin possessed a rare ability to present white as black and effectively pin the label of anti-Marxist on a scholar. His statement gained the approval and applause of Brezhnev, Suslov, Kirilenko and others. Criticism of the book was then used to replace the leadership at the Institute of Sociological Research and renew all its main personnel. I shall not go into the detail of this. Everything that happened with sociology and sociologists during that period has been set forth in detail in a book of mine that the "Nauka" publishing House plans to publish during the first quarter of 1989.

[Popov] Much is now being said to the effect that perestroika in our country is being hampered...

[Osipov] Our interview is drawing to a close. And since I made a mistake in failing to allude to the authorities, let me in response to your question try to correct mistake. I refer to the authority of the great fable writer I.A. Krylov. First, let us recall his fable about the musicians. During the process of perestroika enormous effort and means are being spent to break up what was created earlier, and vice versa: the "musicians" are just changing places, and if the music was bad, it is still. Second, it is worth remembering the fable about the shoemaker and the pastry cook. Many of the leading sectors of industry, management and the services sphere are filled with non-specialists, and continue to be filled with non-specialists. The social harm and material damage from this approach in personnel selection are enormous. It is still thought that all that you have to do is place a person in a particular place and you will immediately make a metallurgist a cabinetmaker, a philosopher a sociologist, and physicist a manager and so forth. Again we are encountering the consequences of irrational thinking and the bureaucratic-presumptuous attitude toward scientific knowledge and professionalism.

Many wonders can still be observed in sociology. No social scientist has yet tried professionally to assume the profession of physicist, chemist, musician or biologist. But the physicist and the lyric poet often call themselves sociologists. Just stick a questionnaire in their hands and lo!—a ready-made sociologist! Strange as it may be, this surprises no one. This kind of distortion leads to the unambiguous conclusions that much still remains to be done to raise the sociologist to the level of a lofty science and thus close off the profession to amateurs and ignoramus.

Finally, it is apropos to recall Krylov's fable about the cook and the cat. Much has been done to unmask the crimes of entire departments and reveal the consequences of the rapacious activity of the leaders of party and soviet organs. But has much changed? Not at all. For example, the rate of environmental pollution is increasing geometrically. Just take the area of the capital. Each day there are more ugly constructions, wooded areas are

going under the ax, parks are being covered with buildings, and the ecological balance is being upset. The departments make references to the well-being of the people and act regardless, and public opinion is ignored. The question involuntarily arises: is it not high time to make use of our power?

[Popov] As we end our conversation I think that it would be logical return to the theme with which we started...

[Osipov] Let me say once again that I regard the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's review of the question of sociology as a major event in the life of our science. The main thing is that it eliminates the prospects for administrative-command methods of interference in research activity. Figuratively speaking, broad vistas have been opened up for creativity in sociology. This is a great deal.

Of course, it is still too early to start beating the drum. Casual people often become part of the leadership in the sociology departments and faculties. This not only slows down the movement of science but also reverses it. In the immediate future many vacancies will be open for specialists in sociology and it will be a crime—I can find no other word for it—if we start to resolve personnel problems as we did previously—in haste, without the proper assessment of political, professional and moral qualities. I believe that it is essential to organize training and re-training for leading personnel in sociology. For example, at the Institute for Sociological Research or the Moscow State University seven to ten eminent sociologists could have students and teach them their business, including management methods for scientific activity.

[Popov] Thank you for the interview. I think that your assessments will evoke interested comments from the scientific community.

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Book Reviews

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[Book reviews]

[Text]

I.I. Antonovich. "Sovremennaya kapitalizm: sotsiologiya krizisa" [Present-Day Capitalism: the Sociology of Crisis], Minsk, "Vysheychaya shkola," 1987, 246 pages.

A new book by I.I. Antonovich the well-known Soviet social scientist and specialist in criticism of bourgeois sociology and political economy has been published. Marxist-Leninist analysis of the features, stages and law-governed patterns in the general crisis of capitalism is extremely topical, not only on the theoretical but also

the practical planes. As the author rightly notes, there are gaps in the research work of Soviet social scientists engaged in critical analysis of capitalism. One such gap is that Marxist sociologists are paying more attention to the ideological-theoretical concepts of the crisis of capitalism than to analysis of its social and historical realities that have come into being and been shaped in our century. I.I. Antonovich writes that "we are publishing many works devoted to criticism of bourgeois sociology and very few on criticism of the social reality under capitalism." (pp 3-4).

In the first chapter, entitled "Main Stages in the Social Evolution of Imperialism," the author reviews the historical conditions and socioeconomic prerequisites for the emergence of imperialism and the socioeconomic reasons for the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Relying on facts certified by Western researchers (M. Dobb, V. Sombart and others), the author offers a nontrivial analysis of the evolution of the capitalist social structure and the internationalization of economic relations and capital.

The theme of scientific and technical progress, giving rise to constant mutation of production relations, is covered quite fully in the monograph. With each new technical discovery it is necessary to undergo a series of organizational changes so as to react adequately to the new production opportunities. The specific nature of the interrelationship between scientific and technical progress and the capitalist method of production, the author rightly emphasizes, lies in the constant contradiction between industry capital and financial capital. The latter imposes itself on industry not where it is really needed, based on socioeconomic requirements, but wherever maximum profit can be made. Financial capital is able artificially to shape the needs of industry in those sectors where the profit is greatest at any given moment.

The monograph paints a clear picture of the competitive interrelationships between individual entrepreneurs and the major industrial corporations. It shows that capitalism at its imperialist stage is altering the concept of "free competition" on which the sociological constructs of Max Weber and other bourgeois scholars were built. With the emergence of the industry corporations on a national and international scale "free competition" begins to be displaced by the so-called competition of suggestion (to use Sombart's expression): competitors try to influence the client not only through efficient business efforts but also various kinds of refinements designed to suppress independent thinking by the client. In other words, they try to "suggest a purchase." The means for this kind of suggestion is advertising, which has now been distorted in a variety of mental pressure.

The author notes that not one of the historically well known socioeconomic systems has made such one-sided use of the enormous wealth created by it: capitalism has never been guided by the vital interests of the entire

population and it systematically throws the wealth just produced into the production of new wealth, multiplying the total capital in circulation. When this occurs there is polarization of all social processes.

As capitalist wealth increases, the number of its owners not involved in production but misappropriating the product made for themselves also increases. The author points out that the mechanism of capitalist distribution strengthens its own credit-and-financial element and "fattens" the owners of capital thanks to the increased numbers of rentiers actively involved only in consumption. This section of the bourgeoisie, quite numerous even at the start of the century, has grown in particular since WWII. It has now become the dominant group in the middle class.

Relying on this conclusion, I.I. Antonovich goes on to set forth extremely noteworthy social observations. Such as: the rentier stratum is the main bearer of the psychology of the private consumerism that has "infected" many social strata and groups of the population in the capitalist countries. The author draws a curious parallel between the rentier and his spiritual predecessors at the end of the last century—the corrupt social groups of the gentry and a major landed aristocracy. The difference lies only in that capitalism, which was then developing rapidly and becoming imperialism, has been constantly narrowing the socioeconomic base for the existence of a gentry and has virtually swept this class out of the historical arena. Today, capitalism, which itself has gone into historical decline and it is constantly reproducing the socioeconomic conditions for the existence of the rentier, assigning to it increasing wealth and increasing its strength numerically.

The monograph reveals the socioeconomic mechanism for mass consumption at the present stage in the development of state-monopoly capitalism. Since the money that the capitalist advances to the worker in the form of wages, and also the periodicity with which wages are paid, are easily predicted and planned in advance, so the capitalist prepares for and plans beforehand the methods by which those sums can be returned to production. In particular, today it is this goal that the mass consumption sphere serves, developed by capitalists primarily as a means for the return money capital.

No social group can avoid capitalist exploitation in the sphere of consumption. Consumption by owners of the means of production is complete satisfaction of their demands and whims, and it is seen in the consumption of luxury items. This state of saturation of demand has been built up over the centuries. The artificial creation of new needs and whims has always been one of its typical features. For the workers, consumption is the process of life activity, during the course of which they satisfy only minimum needs and reproduce only part of the working effort expended. In both the production sphere and in

the consumption sphere, the behavior of the worker is predetermined by the course of social process in the capitalist method of economics.

In the section entitled "Accumulation of Capital and the Impoverishment of the Working Masses" I.I. Antonovich reveals the socioeconomic reasons for the progressive sharpness of the contradictions of capitalism, primarily between labor and capital. "The postwar decades, which in the capitalist countries signified rapid development in the consumption sphere, have not brought any solution to any socioeconomic problem born out of capitalism. On the contrary, all these problems have become more acute, acquiring a chronic character." (p 154).

The author's polemic with apologists for the concepts of present-day capitalism as a society of equal opportunities, in particular from the viewpoints of O. (Jarini), a member of the "Club of Rome," is particularly constructive. This bourgeois sociologist suggests that the accumulation of capital is a universal process regardless of the type of socioeconomic formation, while demand for capital is an indispensable condition for development. Accordingly, when planning any social program we proceed from the premise of insuring the production of capital. (Jarini) believes that since countries in the West are efficient producers of capital, which they then supply to the developing countries, this situation should be maintained. This will supposedly be the only sensible solution since the developing countries themselves are too busy to produce capital: their needs to develop their economies and social structure are too great and they will never be able to accumulate sufficient funds to satisfy those needs. Thus the right of countries in the West to dictate development in the "Third World" and the right to interfere in its socioeconomic institutions, thus hiding the fact that the former colonies have become efficient receptors of the capital sent their, are reinforced. The monograph rightly points out that the authors of such apologetics remain silent about the most important thing: the capital that is being accumulated in the countries of West Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan is private capital. By its very nature it is incompatible with social equality and it fundamentally contradicts the interests of states setting out on an independent path of development.

One of the undoubted achievements of the book is its in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of the regress in consumption. The constant mutation of needs and the splintering of their structure and orientation on the creation of new needs are all emasculating the content of the individual's inner life and depriving him of any thought of leisure, and giving rise to a feeling of incompleteness in his existence and restricting spiritual needs through the search for diversion and empty pastimes.

Of course, the author notes, a considerable proportion of the new demands included in a structure of consumption in the present-day capitalist country results from the

increased social wealth and its further accumulation in the hands of the propertied strata. However, an even more considerable proportion of the new demands reflects the growing difficulty for the main masses of the working population in gaining access to the good things of life.

The history of capitalist production in the West in the 20th century contains the essential component of the development of personal consumption. The enormous amounts of money capital obtained from the colonies have been used in production facilities that guarantee a greater flow of goods earmarked for personal consumption. Following the liquidation of the colonies their role has become that of implementing the world capitalist economic system. The young developing states are included in it under conditions of subordination and dependence. Since they are suppliers of raw materials and cheap manpower, and a place for the profitable use of capital, these countries guarantee the superprofits of the transnational corporations. The monograph graphically shows that as a result, the constant exploitation of the periphery of the economic system has promoted a sharp rise in living standards in the developed capitalist countries.

Using material from studies by bourgeois sociologists (V. Sombart, T. Hirsch and others), the author shows that as a rule their approach to the social and cultural consequences of a policy of consumption in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism is only superficial. Recording growth in trade turnover and its constant mutation, and also development in the mass media and the so-called public sector, they assert that the capitalist method of production possesses inexhaustible potential both economically and in the cultural field. As a counterweight to the bourgeois scholars I.I. Antonovich analyzes from a Marxist-Leninist position the evolution in the structure of the economy and culture of capitalist society. He shows how the illusions of general accessibility to wealth and the myth that through personal consumption it is possible to penetrate in "select circles" have been seized upon by the theoreticians of social policy and form the basis of corresponding programs. These programs provide for maximum production of luxury items. Whereas previously the hereditary aristocracy and the top strata of academic intelligentsia were able to consume them, subsequently broad strata of the bourgeoisie have learned to consume them—the owners of capitalist enterprises, bankers and managers, and also store owners, the rentier and the speculators.

The author goes on to show that along with luxury items, a stream of inexpensive consumer goods has flooded the capitalist market, earmarked for the mass purchaser. Since the volume of goods produced for personal consumption cannot grow endlessly because this would lead to crises of overproduction, the capitalist turns his gaze to personal consumption, which can be endlessly urged on by artificially creating demand, altering the range and consumer qualities of goods, and actively manipulating

the behavior of individuals and social groups. Consumption is an integral part of production and energetic expansion of its scales contains many opportunities for mitigating the effect of the action of overproduction crises.

The monograph offers a heuristic opinion on the socio-cultural significance of the relationship between production and consumption under capitalism. The nature of this relationship is paradoxical: whether it be of luxury items or vital necessities, consumption has its limits, and so production, driven by the craving to maximize profits, knows no limits. Therefore, saturation of the market with new goods designed for personal consumption is always an attempt to smash through the limits of personal consumption. There is nothing revolutionary in this smashing and it does not enrich the individual. On the contrary, it destroys the economic foundations of the individual, enmeshes him in a system of shackling debt obligations, and makes him spiritually bankrupt.

In all the capitalist countries the workers today have a legal right to send their children to any private educational establishment. However, they are unable to do this because of the extraordinarily high costs of education. The monograph analyzes the social and class sources of this contradiction and reveals the true reasons why the bourgeoisie has no interest in having the children of workers receive the high-quality education that private educational establishments offer.

I.I. Antonovich's monograph is a valuable interdisciplinary study. Every justification exists for recommending it to the attention of the sociological community.

G.V. Osipov, S.M. Mitina.

V. S. Buyanov. "Nauchnoye Mirovozreniye. Sotsialno-filosofskiy aspekt" [The Scientific World Outlook. The Sociophilosophical Aspect], Moscow, Politizdat, 1987, 208 pages.

In order to offer an adequate assessment of a book it is important not only to understand its content but also to know its "audience" accurately. The work being reviewed is aimed primarily at propagandists and the ideological aktiv, that is, a quite broad and knowledgeable readership, and this determines its content. The author tries first to generalize and sum up the main approaches to the world outlook that has been shaped in the Soviet philosophical literature, and second, to make a careful analysis of the features of its formation and operation in present-day socialist society. And—and this is particularly valuable—to realize these tasks by examining the day-to-day problems raised by perestroika.

Let us illustrate this approach with an example. In the first chapter of the work, by introducing the reader to the complex range of problems concerning the historical types of world outlook the author, rightly in our view,

distinguishes "three basic approaches to the study of world outlooks, namely, the epistemological, the sociological, and the axiological (p 8). After briefly laying out the essence of each of these, he concludes that the most fruitful is the comprehensive approach, whereby world outlook "is studied not from a particular viewpoint but is analyzed on a multiple level, within the unified context of a person's cognitive, theoretical and practical attitude toward reality." (p 9). When defining world outlook (p 5), the author himself in fact sums up the approaches he has distinguished and holds to a kind of "summative" definition during the course of further elucidation, successfully resolving the tasks set in the monograph, namely, showing world outlook "in action," and in its connection with the various aspects of present-day social development.

The method chosen to consider world outlook is also successful: namely, distinguishing its most essential and meaningful links within the system of social awareness—with philosophy, the natural and social sciences, ideology, social psychology and ordinary consciousness. The division of world outlook sequentially into the scientific, the non-scientific, the anti-scientific and the pre-scientific is also sound (pp 14-16). We think, however, that this typology serves rather to provide a sounder elucidation and attract closer attention than they are given in the book. The correlation of world outlook and ordinary consciousness, and the isolation of ordinary world outlook is also of interest (pp 24-27). The author rightly objects to the one-sided and negative assessment of the latter. However, it would have been desirable in this connection for him to have revealed the heterogeneity and diversity of the content of ordinary consciousness and ordinary world outlook, and shown that they contain both conservative, anti-scientific components and elements of the progressive; and also the ambiguity stemming from this in the evaluation; this is of fundamental significance on both the theoretical and the practical planes.

In our opinion, the greatest interest lies in those portions of the work in which the author applies the approach he has developed to world outlook as a theoretical instrumentarium for "specific analysis of a specific situation," when this situation is the perestroika in public life now taking place here and in other socialist countries. He rightly criticizes facile ideas on the shaping of world outlook that are closely associated with oversimplified and inaccurate views on the ways to and prospects for building a communist society. At the same time, the author focuses most attention on questions concerning revolutionary restructuring of people's awareness and world outlook at the present stage. He warns about the real danger of the "devaluation of new concepts," and the impermissibility of "the kind of situation in which slogans are advanced in a modern way but matters are handled in the old way" (p 86). The book provides an analysis of the concept "human factor," and its diverse aspects are distinguished (p 87). World outlook problems in the shaping of the human factor are considered not

only from the viewpoint of realizing the advantages of socialism in light of the communist prospects for development of our society, but also in connection with the contradictions of socialism (pp 89-105). The work offers well-founded criticism of imprecise and disorienting ideas about an essential lagging of the social awareness behind the social reality (pp 96-97).

The author singles out in particular the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the shaping of world outlook and the human factor in socialist society. This theme, which is quite traditional, acquires new importance at each stage of social development. The author successfully overcomes the "head-on" correlation of world outlook and scientific and technical progress and he considers the diverse factors and features present in the development of spiritual culture that mediate their interaction. In particular, attention is drawn to the analysis of relations in the "science—education—production" system (pp 110-113). We also note the extremely precise arrangement of emphasis in the consideration of the world outlook aspect of today's global problems, namely, the problems of "world," "planetary" and "general human" awareness and world outlook (pp 120-121). The criticism of unambiguously negative interpretations of these concepts in the works of certain Soviet philosophers is quite justified, since "we must discard not the idea itself but the thought that bourgeois ideologues ascribe to it" (p 120).

Returning to world outlook in connection with the problems of communist indoctrination, the author distinguishes ideological-political education, the shaping of economic views, and moral indoctrination. The monograph singles out the political experience of the masses themselves as the foundation of ideological-political indoctrination, and the most important of its components for the present stage (self-management, involvement in national debates and so forth) are analyzed (pp 148-155).

Reviewing the present demands being made of the economic aspect of world outlook the author attaches himself to the position according to which economic awareness is a part of social awareness and therefore a relatively independent factor in the shaping of world outlook. The central place in this section of the book is occupied by an analysis of the shaping of new economic perceptions at the stage of perestroyka and the process of labor indoctrination (pp 169-175). In this connection we would like to remark that solving the theoretically and practically important problem of the creative content of labor as a factor of indoctrination is somewhat oversimplified in the monograph. In fact "there is an element of creativity in all useful labor. What is required is to distinguish between the creative content and the creative attitude toward labor. An apathetic worker can be employed in one of the so-called creative professions, and vice versa, evidently a really creative person may end up performing labor that has little content" (p 176).

However, the content of labor is of enormous importance and requires more careful consideration. It is our view that the monograph could have provided a better indication of the actual state of affairs in this field. For people's creative attitude toward labor can only partly overcome the negative phenomena to which work with little content gives rise.

Despite the errors, in general this monograph is an important and useful study that reveals the basic directions, tasks and contradictions in the shaping of world outlook at the present stage of perestroyka.

P.A. Matveyev, A.P. Torshin.

N.G. Zyablyuk. "Gosudarstvo i malyy biznes SShA (sotsialno-politicheskiy aspekt)" [The State and Small Business in the United States (the Sociopolitical Aspect)], Moscow, "Nauka," 1987, 176 pages

Our ideas about the United States are often conditioned by the stereotype of megalomania. The largest megalopolises, transnational corporations, supermarkets, an army of the unemployed... All of this undoubtedly does exist in the United States. But small businesses are just as important. Hence, the interest in this book, where the place occupied by small business—a significant component of the social structure in the United States is defined—is understandable.

N.G. Zyablyuk's book will attract the attention of specialists across a broad spectrum, but first and foremost sociologists and economists. The author tries to show how small businesses constitute a very important factor in reproduction of the economic and sociopolitical dominance of the bourgeoisie. It should be noted that our sociologists have lost sight of entire kinds of economic and social activity relating to small businesses and the mechanisms whereby cooperatives and similar structures come into being and disappear. It is only recently that sociologists have shown an interest in them.

The monopolies and small businesses form an indissoluble whole and they naturally supplement each other. This is one of N.G. Zyablyuk's main conclusions (p 18).

When opening the monograph one involuntarily asks the following question: what is the scale of the problem? The author cites extremely eloquent figures. In 1980, of the 16,793,000 firms in the United States (12,702,000 single proprietor businesses, 1,380,000 partnerships and 2,711,000 corporations), 98 percent were small businesses. And 95 percent of them employed less than 20 people, while there were 12 million to 14 million family businesses (pp 8-9). Small and medium-size enterprises create 38 percent to 43 percent of GNP and 48 percent of the goods and services created in the country (pp 8-9).

In 1983 some 600,000 new enterprises came into being in the United States, mostly small ones; this was 33 percent more than in the previous year. A total of 31,300 businesses went into bankruptcy (about one-tenth of them), and almost all of them (the figure was 98.4 percent in 1982) employed less than 100 people (p 11).

During the period 1969-1977 some 96 percent of new work places were in non-monopoly businesses, while in 1981-1982 small businesses created 2.65 million jobs. During the same period big business eliminated 1.66 million jobs (p 15).

Individual inventors and small enterprises account for 24 percent of innovations in industry. And spending on innovations in small and medium-size firms is 24 times (!) more effective than in the major monopolies. Small firms take 2.22 years to move a commodity from invention to the market, while the figure for the monopolies is 3.05 years (p 14).

It should not be forgotten that the inventor of the steam engine in the 18th century was a small businessman, the instrument maker J. Watt, while in our times personal computers were also dreamed up by small-time entrepreneurs.

The desire of Americans to "have their chance" is encouraged by the social environment. Many colleges and universities have started courses in small business administration. Four business journals are oriented on this (p 13). Over a 10-year period more than 50 monographs were published on the problems of non-monopoly business. Thus, in S. Solomon's fundamental work "Small Business. The Role of Small Companies in Sparking America's Economic Transformation" (1986) it is noted that the bureaucratic control exercised over small businesses is seen throughout the non-American economic world. It is emphasized that in the socialist countries they are still experimenting with various forms of private initiative, and results from these experiments are described; the leaders here are China and Hungary (S. Solomon. "Small Business. The Role of Small Companies in Sparking America's Economic Transformation," New York, 1986).

It is noted in N.G. Zyablyuk's monograph that the small businessman in the United States is a greatly respected figure; he is the standard bearer of the entrepreneurial spirit. The authorities are constantly trying to influence the small business, and not only for pragmatic purposes but also in the fight for votes. For example, in 1980 a total of 23 programs existed to provide financial assistance for small business (pp 89-90), along with a system of government purchases, and consultative assistance from a state institution—the Small Business Administration.

With us, the figure of the "individual worker" is still suspect. Even though experience gained in a number of socialist countries in Europe has shown that small-scale production is not simply a "makeweight" for large-scale

production. Thus, in the GDR large production units (combines) and a very developed private sector coexist, not without mutual advantage. Unfortunately, the slogan of quickness and onslaught here often prevails over the consciousness of those attracted to individual labor. For engaging in full-bodied labor activity and the true individuality and high level of professionalism noted by the press is a prolonged process that is built on mutual trust between producer and consumer.

The chapter entitled "Business Associations of the Non-monopoly Bourgeoisie" reviews the activity of the Small Business Center, the Chamber of Commerce Small Business Council, and the National Association of Independent Businessmen and of "voluntary" organizations of "independent" businessmen. (We use the quote marks since, of course, both voluntariness and independence are subordinate to the laws of capitalist production, where the small entrepreneur is assigned to a subordinate and secondary position). It is not happenstance that small business in the United States is more often allied with the monopolies than with the working class. Thus, the department for the protection of small business interests provides massive support for the interests of the monopolies, acting against reform of labor legislation since "... any measures aimed at even minimum improvement in the position of the working class is particularly hated by small business" (p 155). The small businessman thinks that his main enemy is not the big-time businessman but the organized worker, because the former stands for "freedom" of enterprise, while the latter stands for its suppression. A dangerous illusion.

To sum up, it must be said the N.G. Zyablyuk's book not only provokes thought about the place and role of small business in the United States but also makes it possible to take a different look at the socioeconomic status of the cooperative and individual labor activity in our country, and enables us to see small-scale production in the socialist city in a new light. The state sector of the economy also needs to be set off in a framework made up of cooperative and "private" production of goods and services. As the Yugoslav researcher of "small economics" K. Gligorov has rightly noted, this kind of framework is not some relic but an important and integral element of any present-day economic system looking for a major future. (K. Gligorov. "A Formula for Success." NOVOYE VREMYA No 11, 1987, p 34). When thinking about the aggregate of figures cited in N.G. Zyablyuk's book, one is convinced that the time has come to publish books that analyze the experience gained in socialist and capitalist countries in the matter of organizing a "small economy" aimed at satisfying consumer demand (and sometimes even demand from industrial production) for goods and services that the state sector cannot always provide. In-depth consideration of the experience gained in the coexistence of industrial giants and production at the initiative of individuals is a social command of the times for the social sciences.

E.G. Lavrik.

M. Argyle. "Psikhologiya Schastya" [The Psychology of Happiness], New York, Methuen Co Ltd., 1987, 256 pages

This monograph by the well-known English scholar and associate of Oxford University, Michael Argyle, continues an extensive series of his books and articles of problems in social psychology, interpersonal relations, the psychology of the family, labor activity and religion. This work is a serious scientific study based on a diverse and representative set of empirical material. The author's aim is to analyze the sociological psychological phenomenon of "happiness."

Much of the value of the monograph results from the numerous tests, and results from psychological studies conducted by scholars in a number of countries in the West that are to be found in it. At the same time, M. Argyle's book is a practical handbook set forth in fine literary language and offering a broad range of recommendations to readers for achieving happiness, or at least help in coming closer to that feeling.

First of all the author clarifies the definitions. The chief of these is "happiness." "By happiness we may understand a) a state of satisfaction with everyday life and b) frequent and intense positive emotions" (p 13). Several chapters in the book are devoted to the main factors influencing the individual's spiritual state. M. Argyle starts with the sphere of personal relations: "The most graphic example of interactions that lead to a feeling of happiness is the state of being in love... This has a most beneficial effect (although there are also negative effects). Love is one of the happiest events in life" (p 15).

The degree of satisfaction derived from marriage is linked directly with overall satisfaction with life, that is, with happiness. The author considers the effect of parental concern and joy, friendships and relationships with relatives and neighbors on the individual. "Married people are less susceptible to mental illness than those who have never been married or who are divorced or widowed," M. Argyle sums up (p 26).

The factor of satisfaction with work is of less importance than marriage and the family for a person's moral and psychological condition. It is M. Argyle's opinion that work "is rather a source of dissatisfaction and worry rather than a source of satisfaction" (p 34). Satisfaction from work is determined by the following factors (in order of diminishing importance): 1) the degree of freedom and independence in the labor process; 2) opportunities for maximum variety of operations; 3) recognition of the importance of labor results for those surrounding the individual; 4) opportunities for accomplishing a specific and clearly delineated part of the overall business (p 35). About half of those polled state that they are quite satisfied with the job that they are doing but only one-third of respondents are prepared to continue working if there is no need to do so (p 50).

While stating the negative effect of unemployment in the capitalist countries on the individual and on society as a whole, the author writes that a study conducted by British sociologists (A. Furnkhem and K. (Louis), 1986) points out that "the unemployed more often become alcoholics and are very susceptible to mental illness" (p 55).

The book provides a definition for the concept of "leisure": it is "the activity in which people engage simply because it pleases them" (p 65). This is done "for their own satisfaction, merriment, amusement, self-improvement or for other purposes of their own choice but not for reasons of material necessity" (p 66). However, opportunities for leisure are restricted by the following factors: 1) choice can be made only from what is accessible; 2) choice can only be made from what is possible from the material viewpoint; 3) only that diversion acceptable in a given society at a given time is permissible. Of the various kinds of forms of leisure, the most common are the following: leisure with children and family, leisure at home alone, religious beliefs, intercourse with friends and relations. In a list of leisure pursuits, watching television is placed only 16 out of 18. It should be made clear that this poll was conducted in the United States in 1965-1966, and so it can now be reasonably expected that the popularity of television is much higher. In most studies devoted to leisure pursuits it is noted that "its main motivation is a desire to relax" (p 86). The most common answer from respondents was "I want to relax and get my breath" or "I want to ease my head and body" (p 86).

When talking about the influence of money and material sufficiency on a person's spiritual state, even an authoritative specialist such as M. Argyle fails to avoid trivial moralizing of the type "it is very probable that a poor person will feel unhappy" (p 94). It is only when considering specific social groups that the author moves to a scientific presentation of the problem. Thus, he is forced to recognize that in the capitalist countries it is precisely among representatives of the working class and the poorly paid strata of workers that the level of mental disorders and nervous diseases is high (p 100). However, M. Argyle tries to explain this not by citing the flaws in capitalism's socioeconomic system but... by the spread in the working environment of "an attitude of fatalism and escapism" (p 102). In other words, the effect is made the cause. At the same time, the English researcher notes that a higher material level of life does not correlate directly with general satisfaction regarding the way of life: "Since 1957 the well-being (the so-called period of prosperity) in the United States has been accompanied by a sharp decline in satisfaction with life in the country" (p 144).

The character and temperament and people's feeling about themselves are all factors that directly influence a person's psychological state. Outward appearance and attractiveness play an important role in creating a feeling of happiness, particularly in young women. The studies show that people who look good are perceived by those

around them not only as the possessors of an attractive appearance and fine clothes; they are automatically ascribed with positive character features, special intellectual abilities and so forth (p 117).

One section of the book (pp 134-137) reviews the physiological bases for the genesis of positive emotions. M. Argyle writes about the presence of "pleasure centers" in the brain of living beings. As an example he cites the famous experiment from the Fifties, when electrodes implanted in a specific part of the brain of a rat evoked "pleasure" and caused the rat to press a button constantly for 24 hours at a rate of 10,000 times an hour. Similar experiments have also been conducted on higher primates (p 135).

Good mood exerts a positive effect on a person's work capacity, and it improves memory. Results from studies testify to this (p 138). Numerous experiments confirm that people in a good mood are much more ready to help others, and are more generous.

Age and sex also influence a person's feelings about himself. Thus, if we talk about degree of satisfaction with material circumstances, this indicator obviously rises as a person becomes older. At the same time, with age people experience the feeling of joy less often (p 156). The author notes that whereas as men grow older they feel happier, women say that their best years were when they were young, particularly the period before giving birth to children (pp 157-158). Feelings of depression, and also the initial stages of mental disorders, are met in particular in people aged 30 to 40. M. Argyle explains this phenomenon by the presence of young children in the family during this period (p 161). As the years pass the acute nature of emotions, the nervous experiences and the stresses decline. The peaks of negative emotion do not coincide for representatives of the difference sexes. Thus, women feel strongest psychological discomfort before marriage and they are most physically exhausted during the period of rearing children of pre-school age, and simply unhappy if in middle age they have no children or are the mothers of a single child. Men are most worried about the money question during the early years of setting up a family, while in middle age the status of being single depresses them (p 169).

In Chapter 10 M. Argyle considers the effect of health on a person's feelings about himself. It has turned out that among the British and Americans health is second (after marriage) on the scale of values in life (p 174), while for Koreans it is 19th on the scale (p 177).

The author notes that religion exerts a beneficial effect on the health, as it does, incidentally, on feelings of happiness. He confirms this conclusions from the results of comparative studies of the state of health among believers and atheists. Religious people are less susceptible to diseases of the cardiovascular system, bronchopulmonary disorders, cirrhosis of the liver and certain kinds of cancers. However, M. Argyle explains this

advantage from totally materialist positions: many believers do not smoke, do not use alcohol, eschew extramarital sexual liaisons and lead an exemplary way of life. Religion and social support from the church and the community "bring spiritual serenity and eliminate stress, which prevents hypertension" (p 196).

The final chapter of the book is devoted to a practical question: is it possible to achieve a state of happiness, and if it can be achieved, is it possible to maintain it? M. Argyle offers a detailed list (49 points) of everyday affairs and pursuits, each of which improves mood, including methods of psychotherapy (suggestion, self-training and so forth), and a review of special television films and movies, listening to particular music and so forth (pp 201-202). In addition to methods for stimulating a good disposition for a short period of time, the author names methods for long-term maintenance of good mood. They include deliberately increasing the number of pleasant situations and kinds of activity in life (meetings with friends, playing sports, attending soirees and so forth), and also improving material well-being and living conditions (professional growth, higher wages, moving to a better apartment). Concluding the book the author sums up as follows: "It is clear that feelings of happiness can be evoked both in oneself and in others by consciously striving for this" (p 216).

The "Progress" Publishing House plans to publish a Russian translation of M. Argyle's book.

A.A. Kryukov.

G.G. Dyumenton. "Seti nauchnykh kommunikatsii i organizatsiya fundamentalnykh issledovaniy" [Networks for Scientific Communication and the Organization of Basic Research], Moscow, "Nauka," 1987, 128 pages.

In our country sociology, like the epistemology of science, is still taking its first steps. Today it is overcoming the usual difficulties of a new field of knowledge—the indeterminate nature of the theory and the inadequacy of the empirical base. The author of this book started his long-term study among a group of Moscow's academic biological institutions under these difficult conditions. Using the method of repeated comprehensive interviews and analysis of documents he gathered a unique mass of information enabling him to make sound generalizations. The book presents the results from analysis of this information in two stages (1967-1970 and 1977-1980), dealing mainly with personal scientific connections in the organizational structures in the biological institutes.

The author concludes that development of the network of personal scientific connections is uneven and preferential relative to the formal organizational structure, with a variable and cyclic nature of increase and decrease in the number of connections, specific formation and operation of a new interdisciplinary field of science, and correlation of variability and stability in cognitive interests in personal scientific connections and the cognitive structures defended in them.

The phenomenon of unexpected increase in the number of personal scientific connections up to 1970 and their subsequent decline at two of the institutes studied (the author calls this the "Janus peak") is particularly curious. The same peak was observed in 1970 by leading researchers abroad studying scientific communications in the publication networks with respect to citation and co-citation in similar fields of biology. The coincidence of data on development of the two main systems of scientific communication—personal and through publication—obtained independently and in different scientific cultures, is more than enough proof of the interconnection between these systems and their objective scientific importance. Relying on his own data and data from abroad, the author formulates a scenario for the development of a system for scientific communication and the organization of scientific in general.

The book also contains work on the correct methods for making practical use of results obtained. Rejecting general or personified recommendations as being of little use (and often downright harmful), the author suggests generalized information for scientists on the dynamics in the development of their informal and formal organization, the interdependence of laboratories and institutes, and fields of science and the patterns in their functioning. It is exactly this kind of information that has turned out to be the most unexpected for the scientists studied and the most valuable for making specific scientific and organizational decisions. In this connection the author concludes that only general analysis of sociological and scientific epistemological measuring information can insure comprehensive study of the laws of the development of science.

The main result of the author's 12-year labor is perhaps the new "network approach" to the investigation of science. In developing his scientific program G.G. Dyumenton has clearly defined the main "cell" or unit of analysis—the personal network of scientific contacts. The problem field of scientific cognition and the "cooperation effect" realized in the individual abilities of scientists who augment each other and strengthen each other, are organically combined in this cell. The structure of personal contacts is defined by the author as the set of the main kinds scientific work typical of the field of basic research studied. It is the theoretical and methodological foundation for the ideas of feedback in personal scientific communication and organization combined with a reliable methodological instrumentarium and a clear-cut definition of working concepts that have insured the efficiency of the network approach.

As in any innovative work, there are debatable issues in Dyumenton's book. Thus, while striving for a standard laconism for the language of the natural sciences the author often suggests ready-made conclusions without explaining how he arrived at them. This makes it difficult to understand the material, especially for the non-specialist. There is a need for more detailed commentaries and texts in the illustrated appendix.

Yu.A. Zamoshkin, A.V. Yuryevich.

I.A. Butenko. "Sotsialnoye poznanie i mir povsednevnosti. Gorizonty i tupiki fenomenologicheskoy sotsiologii" [Social Cognition and the Everyday World. Horizons and Blind Alleys in Phenomenological Sociology], Moscow, "Nauka," 1987, 144 pages

Our social sciences have for a long time ignored the fact that the individual not only enters into extensive status-hierarchical social continuums bequeathed to him by preceding generations (economic, political-and-legal, ideological and so forth), but also marshals and structures the specific social world of which the center is the individual himself. In the most recent sociology in the West a term signifying this building process has been coined—"the everyday world." This phenomenon has attracted the attention of many philosophers but special success has been achieved in his work by E. Husserl.

During the period 1960-1980 the center for the study of "the everyday world" became phenomenological sociology. It is not happenstance that I.A. Butenko ties the range of problems in the "everyday world" with critical analysis of this avenue of scientific thought.

Phenomenological sociology is the conventional name for a broad range of diverse concepts whose theme runs from speculative constructs to empirical studies. Some of them are known to the Soviet reader ("Novyye napravleniya v sotsiologicheskoy teorii" [New Directions in Sociological Theory], Moscow, "Progress," 1978). The following are included among our well-known concepts in phenomenological sociology: (P. Berger) and T. (Lukman's) sociology of knowledge, (G. Garfinkel's) ethnomethodology, Ye. Tirakyan's structural sociology, (D. Duglas') sociology of "everyday life," and (A. Sikurel's) cognitive sociology. Less well known are J. Fishman's sociology of language, and the sociolinguistics of (P. Manning), (Kh. Kellner) and (D. Tsimmerman). I.A. Butenko's monograph acquaints us with the latest direction in phenomenological sociology—the "discourse analysis" of J. Sachs and other authors whose work is reckoned to belong to the sphere of empirical research. These directions are exerting a significant influence on the social sciences in the West in the Eighties, particularly in linguistics, ethnography, the study of cultures, and argument theory, which have been theoretically integrated into the so-called interdisciplinary phenomenology of (D. Id), (R. Zaner) and (G. Psafas).

With regard to the sources of phenomenological sociology, the author of the monograph is undoubtedly right to consider them not only in the philosophy of E. Husserl but also L. Wittgenstein, and in hermeneutics, structuralism and so forth. It is a pity that this sounded somewhat like patter—the book does not treat of the the historical-logical dependence. In fact, phenomenological sociology is an interdisciplinary phenomenon that has come into being from many sources. However, we cannot agree with I.A. Butenko when he omits (A. Shyuts) from the list and along with him the entire “understanding” tradition of that Western social scientist. Without this tradition many of the methodological problems posed by phenomenological sociology are incomprehensible, as is its startling effect on thinking in the West.

The monograph reviews the cognitive concept of phenomenological sociology. The author considers its basic problem to be the question of the connection between sociology and pre-scientific consciousness. In phenomenologically oriented sociology the traditional division into sociologists and non-sociologists is replaced with a division into professional sociologists and nonprofessionals. Then, “the rank-and-file member of society has equal status with the professional sociologist” (p 68). This basic position deserves the closest attention. The ordinary consciousness and the scientific consciousness differ one from the other. There are certain social problems where this difference is obvious: questions of ethnic stereotypes, nationalism, bureaucracy, the sexual revolution and so forth. Sometimes the boundary between the experience of life and scientific experience is not so clear. And many “unofficial terms” are given meaning exclusively at the everyday level (anecdotes, gossip, rumors) and the extrascientific level (social and political journalism, the arts); here, science may lag behind and lose out not only in immediacy of thinking but also in depth of interpretation.

Equalizing the status of professional and nonprofessional, subject and “object” in sociological thinking alters the subject matter, instrumentarium and methodology of society. With regard to the subject matter of sociology, social development, the language of sociology and so forth are introduced. Whereas the problem of historical development has been discussed for a long time in historical science, the problem of social development (its specific nature and criteria) has been raised for the first time precisely by phenomenological sociology.

Innovation in the sociological instrumentarium Instead of causes (as in homologic sociology) or motives for action (as in Weber's sociology), phenomenological sociology studies the rules for “ascribing” motives to the interaction of partners. These rules form one of the structures of everyday occurrences. But the structures of everyday occurrences are not homological: they are disconnected and frankly indicant. Since a system of certain rules is referred, as a prerequisite, to a system of other rules, and they in turn are referred to yet another and so

forth, so the structure of everyday occurrences is like an endless regression. The result of this is that phenomenological sociology would seem to be unable to reveal the rules for “ascribing” motives, or in general reach any kind of “final” thesis. However, this is not a blunder but an internal property of its methodology, which is oriented on the inquiry. The aim is joint and mutually augmenting thinking about existence by the professional and non-professional. The model for sociological cognition here is not the traditional sociological monologue text but dialogue between the professional and the non-professional, between subject and “equally-subject” object. This new model of sociological awareness makes it possible to fit sociology into the framework of the dialogue world outlook at whose source M. Buber stands.

The very substantial fifth chapter of the book analyzes the sociolinguistic views of representatives of phenomenological sociology who have made an important contribution to psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. This applies in particular to the concept of the index word developed by (G. Garfinkel); “the sense of this concept cannot be determined by an audience not possessing the knowledge or assumptions about the biography and purposes of an expression used...” (p 107). The teaching on index words and expressions provided impetus for numerous studies in the sciences on language and speech. It has also been used for a fundamentally new approach to the problem of the language of sociology. Previously this problem was regarded as the monopoly of neopositivist epistemology. Whereas the latter tries, like the natural sciences, to rid sociological terminology of its indexed nature, phenomenology sees the guarantee for the adequacy of sociological cognition precisely in retaining and cultivating this indexed nature. In this case the language of sociological theory cannot and should not differ from everyday, contextual language. But this in no way means that it is unclear. In any conversation (scientific or everyday) in which index expressions are used, procedures exist for formulation in which the movement of the language is made clear. But the very formulations are again index expressions that can and should be clarified.

The phenomenon that has been called “endless triangulation” indicates the connection between the explanatory schemes of the professional sociologist and the everyday world—a connection that is not recognized by the “everyday sociologist” (p 116). But “endless triangulation” develops into a local problem of language for the sociologist and covers the problem of language in general. “Analysis of the nature of many scientific terms,” I.A. Butenko notes, “convinces us that they essentially include a multitude of shades of meaning that are not part of some single rigid definition. And it is precisely this range of possible meanings the insures flexibility in scientific analysis” (p 117).

Here we should add that the concept of indexed nature has offered visible roots to the problem that concerned leading representatives of apperceptive sociology way

back in the last century—F. Schleyermacher, W. Dilthey, (G. Rikert)—namely the problem of the general scientific value of the methodology of the humanities. Its essential nature is that the so-called inexact sciences can also be useful for the exact sciences. Unfortunately, Soviet epistemology of science did not take up this problem with sufficient vigor.

Chapter six of the monograph deals with the empirical direction in sociological-phenomenological studies that has been called "discourse analysis." It is described very briefly and is merely informative. It seems to us that the author has not fully assessed all the philosophical and methodological significance of this direction, which has signified something qualitatively new in sociological empiricism and possibly also in scientific empiricism in general, since it requires going outside the framework of traditional inductivism. For the subject of "discourse analysis" is not simply "empirical data" gathered from the continuum of life, isolated from each other and atomized, but spontaneous empirical material that has not previously been dealt with by any kind of scientific logic.

The appearance of empiricism in the mainstream of the philosophically oriented flow of phenomenological sociology may seem improper at first blush. While striving to clarify the subjective-concealed levels of the everyday world, the phenomenological sociologists have gradually moved to a spontaneous level, to an unprogrammed and restless and apparently aimless everyday discourse. This theme was taken up by (G. Garfinkel) and (P. Berger) in connection with the question of the language of sociology and its reduction to ordinary language. Proceeding from the proposition that nothing can be a part of the sociological description until it is written, the phenomenological sociologists have not fallen into a "evil infinity" but have started to study the properties and attributes of everyday, ordinary, spontaneous discourse.

The problem of discourse. Language and speech are the boundary at which linguistically oriented philosophy and sociology have been halted. But language is an abstract construct, composed artificially from atomized and "trimmed" linguistic data. Speech is a less abstract phenomenon than language but is still the result of monologue dismemberment of specific dialogue. Discourse is "language in action," spontaneous dialogue verbal activity, heretofore overlooked as a scientific reflection. Meanwhile, in each culture there are sets of themes for discourse, forming a ramified and open system of "topics" (Aristotle's term), and there are numerous phrase books—two-language and one-language (varieties of the latter include handbooks for the composition of business letters, private correspondence, love letters and so forth), and finally there is "artificial discourse."

However, all the phenomena listed are merely the visible and very small part of an enormous iceberg—spontaneous discourse. Therefore, in "discourse analysis" the

approach to the selection of material is very strict, using unprepared conversations and telephone conversations recorded on video or magnetic tape. Recordings of telephone conversations are particularly valued because there is no way to gain access to the partner except by speech. The aim is to study the processes by which the speaker on the telephone is recognized, that is, the pre-reflex processes by which the "socialization and significance" of sound waves are accomplished as an external reflection of some "I," the "voice" of a person, and the "speech" and "words" of a particular person.

In and of itself, of course, discourse is not at all an extreme stage where "universality of social interaction" is established (p 129), but merely a new boundary that present-day science has reached, and what new discoveries should be expected of phenomenologists along the paths of their selected methodology. Accordingly, the restraint shown by I.A. Butenko in assessing what they have achieved is quite proper.

Notwithstanding, the significant of the unveiling of spontaneous speech should not be underestimated. First, this phenomenon is finally overlapping the road no matter what the linguistic or verbal fetishism; language and speech are being assigned a boundary and dimension. Second, spontaneous discourse will help in the development of methodology for the science since it requires a quite special body of disciplines—dialogue rather than monologue disciplines. Third, discourse analysis will throw additional light on language and speech and the disciplines that study them. In particular, the psycholinguistics of spontaneous speech has already been formed under the influence of "discourse analysis."

While striking a balance between the claims and achievements of phenomenological sociology the author notes that the latter are "only preparation for real discourse on the social nature, only a path to a new social cognition, but not yet that cognition itself" (p 138). A proper conclusion. Accordingly, the final sentence of the book seems to be a concession to the routine views of the past: phenomenological sociology "no longer exists as an independent branch of sociology" (p 142). This is incorrect: while positivism lives, antipositivist trends will also exist. The following conclusion can be drawn from the monograph: the phenomenological tradition in the form of phenomenological sociology has moved out onto the broadest general cultural range of problems; it contains enormous general scientific methodological potential and the values of rationalism and the dialogue approach, and it is rehabilitating the ideals of the humanities and of scientific knowledge in general that have been shaken in past decades.

I.A. Butenko's monograph may be regarded as the start of a serious dialogue on the problems of the social nature, a dialogue that must be deepened and considerably expanded. Despite the certain brevity resulting

from the desire to cover and work on an extensive range of material, I.A. Butenko's work is an indicator of the new frontiers at which Soviet sociology has arrived.

I.A. Golosenko, V.A. Kirsanov.

G. Fabris and V. Mortara. "Le Otto Italie" [The Eight Italies], Milano, Ed. Mondadori, 1986, 287 pages

The significant changes taking place today in the social structure of the developed capitalist countries, associated primarily with the change in the living standards of virtually all strata of society and the active introduction of the mass media and computer technology into everyday life and leisure, are involving changes in the way of life and the method of using material and spiritual boons. The criteria that have operated smoothly for decades, making it possible to distinguish classes, strata and sections, are now increasingly providing an inadequate picture and creating difficulties both for Marxist and non-Marxist researchers. Scholars are looking for nontraditional approaches to the study of the social structure. One attempt to look at society in a new way has been made by the two Italian sociologists Gianpaolo Fabris and Vittorio Mortara in "The Eight Italies." The point of departure for these researchers is a conviction that on the threshold of the Nineties it is becoming increasingly difficult to study society by dividing it into classes. Today, in the years of dominance by private television, robots and computers, neither level of income nor profession "work" for a social classification. It is these authors' opinion that a clearer picture is obtained if the criteria used are lifestyles and value systems, in other words, it is necessary to look at what people buy and what they eat, where they live, where they spend their vacations, what their cultural and political interests are and so forth. When they conducted their multifaceted study, the sociologists deemed it possible to divide the whole of Italian society into eight models, where, to use the words of the authors, all Italians could fully or partially recognize themselves. Some of these population categories are in step with the times, with the changes taking place in Italian society. Others even try to run ahead. Yet others live, as it were, 20 years ago. In the opinion of Fabris and Mortara the "Eight Italies" make up a unique picture of a changing Italy. Thus, the picture drawn by the authors claims to be a sociological portrait of present-day Italian society. Of what does it consist? The eight models suggested by the authors.

The Conservatives. These are made up of mainly of women with an average age of 45. The main value in life is a sense of protectiveness, calm and leisure. Exotic journeys are not for them; they are quite satisfied with the local resort with its healing waters. The interests of the husband are limited to the car and the one sport to which he is attracted, and that as a fan—soccer. The "conservatives" read little, mainly the sports paper, detective novels and women's weeklies, and they spend a

great deal of time watching television. They regard politics as a "difficult and dirty business." The "conservatives" favor "a strong state" but most of them are satisfied with the Christian Democrats, although the range of their political sympathies extends from the Social Democrats to the Italian Social Movement. They talk about their problems mostly when dining, and moreover, while they say at least that they follow diets, they mainly stick to the traditional cooking. It is not fortuitous that marriages and christening are a favorite pretext for feasting and demonstrations of fine apparel. Thus, the "conservatives" are mainly petty bourgeois and manage to maintain themselves without special problems or intellectual stress and they remain the third largest group in Italian society, at 14.8 percent.

The Progressives, whose influence, according to Fabris and Mortara, has declined since the 1968 student demonstrations and the 1977 movement, make up 11.4 percent of the country's population and have retained their most important characteristics over time, namely, they are all young (average age 35), and most of them (70 percent) are specialists with diplomas. They are a kind of cultural vanguard of Italian society. Many travel by train or airplane and despise motorcars. The "progressives" regard themselves as inveterate enemies of the family, authority and unconstrained consumerism, and also television and stupid people. They spend little time on various hobbies and sports and instead read many books: 30 percent of them read a minimum of 10 books a year, along with newspapers, weeklies and journals. They love the cinema and theater. Performances and attendance at performances are accompanied by endless discussions of the kind that they conducted in their youth about "Battleship Potemkin." Over time they have maintained their passion for politics. They sympathize with the extreme left, radicals, and ecologists, but most of all with the Italian Communist Party [PCI], one wing of which is oriented on the values of the West and its own cultural interests.

The Integrationists. In the opinion of Italian sociologists the very name of the group is a certain kind of euphemism since most of them relate to it as conformists and accommodationists. The "integrationists" do not like politics and therefore vote with the majority, that is, in Veneto, East Lombard and the areas of the central south for the Christian Democrats, and in Emilia, Toscana and Umbria for the PCI. In the major cities they may prefer the socialists or republicans according to the influence of the parties there. While having no clear-cut ideology the "integrationists" have set themselves quite specific goals. They want everything from life—trips and "becoming someone," and amusing themselves and enjoying respect. Some 16.5 percent of the population share this way of thinking, and most of them are middle-aged (35 to 54). They include a few people with a higher education but many are merchants and artisans. Most of them are women and a significant proportion of the women are homemakers. But they no longer regard the family as "the center of the universe" although this is

often just words: the husband, who brings home the money, is still respected as the head of the family. They read few newspapers and have more interest in family journals and journals for amusement, or publications for car owners. If they have any books they are "for furniture." The Italy of the "integrationists" is built mainly on television: they spend entire days sitting in front of the tube.

The "Puritans" are the fourth social group. They have strong sexual morals and are attached to their own communities (or neighborhoods). The apex of thinking is "doing their duty," and one of their chief desires is "to have time for the family" and "to be able to mix with other people." However, this set is not particularly attractive and the "puritans" make up barely 9.4 percent of the population and are the smallest of the "eight Italies." Most "puritans" are people aged 35 to 54 living in small towns. They expend a great deal of effort trying to appear young and they often spend their leisure time in study or playing sports. However, despite this, the "puritans" are losing ground. The "sense of duty" leads them into Catholic organizations and toward the Christian Democrats. Almost all of them read one or several newspapers (in particular, in Venice and Lombardia local newspapers with a Catholic flavor). However, (at least in the past) some of them have become disillusioned with the old "rules of the game" (strict family life, modest attire, healthy food), and have switched to other social groups.

The "Plodders" [Italian "chipputi"—as transliterated] The name is taken from the caricature of workers and is similar to the Russian word "plodder" [rabotyaga]. According to Fabris and Mortara they make up 10.4 percent of the country's population. It is the opinion of the Italian sociologists that only the influx of the new "plodders" who had been involved in the 1968 leftist movement and were not workers has enabled the group to avoid contraction. It is precisely politics that unites this socially varied group since all its representatives are supporters of the communist party. Fabris and Mortara think that for the rest they have little in common. The old "plodders" read only L'UNITA while the new ones still read L'ESPRESSO and PANORAMA. The old "plodders" lead a normal life: a hostel in the outskirts, few books, little attention even to television. The new "plodders" are more modern, and although disinclined to regard themselves as consumers they seek out every opportunity for leisure and relaxation. All "plodders" are ready to demand higher wages and their main goal is "to have a lot of money." The course of events in recent years, however, is forcing them to demand greater guarantees for job security.

The name of the sixth group, the "multipliers" speaks for itself according to Fabris and Mortara, because their numbers are constantly growing. Now making up 11.6 percent of the population, they are mostly young people; two-thirds are younger than 35 and many are aged 18 to 24. Fabris and Mortara think that in the long term this

Italy will play an increasing role. The youthfulness of this group is not its only advantage. Its members have more money than most Italians, and a high level of education. The group includes men and women of the free professions, entrepreneurs, employees, managers, merchants and artisans. They are united in their desire for success in life, *recherche* diversion, and interesting things. Careers and money are the sole means for creating their lifestyle, which is oriented on consumption and the good life. Politically they have little interest and are always doubtful about whether it is worth voting; they are oriented on leftist parties and secular parties of the center. They read few newspapers but many monthly magazines. They prefer foreign cuisine and Chinese restaurants. They pay a great deal of attention to clothes and as a rule have the most up-to-date equipment.

The "Up-and-Comings" make up the second most numerous group in Italian society. They make up 15.8 percent of the population. Their average age is 34, and one-third are younger than 24. Consequently, together with the "multipliers" the "up-and-comings" will, according to Fabris and Mortara, acquire increasing influence. The stronghold of this social group is the central and northern part of Italy. The social makeup of the group is similar to the "multipliers": they are specialists and managers, employees and merchants, but the "up-and-coming" are less ambitious, less oriented on career. They are less prodigal but never talk about savings. They try to enrich their spiritual world and carry on an intensive social life. The task of "achieving success" is third in their hierarchy of values, followed by money. They use their vacations to get to know new people and phenomena; their attitude toward politics is placid. They strive for the modernization of society but think that it should be gradual, and they are therefore oriented on the secular centrists, with the exception of a certain number who support the PCI. They are dynamic and like sports and they do not have much time for reading; they read some newspaper, more often than not a political weekly and several monthlies, and they very rarely watch television. They are not inclined to showiness in their clothing and spending; they like to follow fashion but not extravagantly.

And finally, the last group—the "Archaics"—whom Fabris and Mortara think are a disappearing part of Italian society. This group represents 10.1 percent of the population, and, as in the "conservative" group, most of them are women, and almost 60 percent are older than 55. Two-thirds of them are pensioners or homemakers and many of them do not have even an elementary education. A significant proportion of them lives in the South (46 percent) or in small towns; many are engaged in agriculture. They value security, fear aggressiveness and violence and would like "to be on form" all the time. Going shopping or visiting distant relatives is a great event for them. They travel by train or business and they read "respectable" publications such as LA STAMPA (in Piemonte) or LA FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA (in the South). Most of them still fast on Fridays despite the fact

that the Church has lifted the ban on the use of meat. Although they claim that they have no interest in political events they nevertheless still vote, giving their support to the Christian Democrats and, less often, the Social Democrats.

This study by G. Fabris and V. Mortara is of undoubted interest as a typical example of analysis by non-Marxist sociologists of present-day bourgeois society. The very attempt to consider Italian society as it develops is of interest. In our view, however, the criteria for distinguishing the "eight Italies" is quite arbitrary. The traditional class division is said to be outdated, and instead a whole series of indicators are advanced whose use can divide the population of any country into not 8 groups but, for example, 25 groups, and do it with the same success. There is no consideration at all in the eight Italies of the social models that link politics with economics, and the political parties just "hang in the air." Of course, the supporters of a specific party need not necessarily represent it on a rigid "class—party" scheme, but to conceal the presence of this link would be naive. Given this approach, the favorites are the groups made up of representatives of people of substance not burdened with the struggle existence, while social status is determined largely by a person's abilities and his skill in moving "up the social ladder." The division of the "up-and-coming" and the "multipliers" is somewhat naive; even the authors of "The Eight Italies" recognize that their social status is similar while the differences result primarily from the lower degree of ambition in the "up-and-coming." This study by Fabris and Mortara is of interest to Soviet readers primarily as a curious attempt to make an unusual social division of Italian society, although, we repeat, the authors' methodological arrangement greatly reduces the value of the results that they reach.

Ye.A. Akimovich, O.V. Illarionov.

B.A. Grushin. "Massovoye Soznaniye: Opyt opredeleniya i problemy issledovaniya" [The Mass Consciousness: Experience in Defining It and Problems of Research], Moscow, Politizdat, 1987, 368 pages

How are sociological theories created? It is difficult to provide a sure answer to this artless question because our experience in creating new theories is abysmally meager. The reader is treated to sharply subject-oriented narratives about scientific dramas in schools of sociology based almost exclusively on material from abroad. Reading B.A. Grushin's new book one finds an example of the creation of macrosociological theory in our own "territorial waters." It was first postulated way back in the Sixties when the first experiments were conducted to probe public opinion. Even then test guesses were made about the content of future theory and its still vague prototypes were shaped. In works on public opinion, on the book "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy" [Opinions about the World and the World of Opinions" (1967)],

and in a number of methodological publications in the Seventies the author made significant advances in transforming the initial guesses into a theoretical model of the mass consciousness.

Along the road of creating a theory of mass consciousness considerable difficulties lay in wait for the researchers, not only of an objective nature (the "slipperiness" of manifestations by the object of research, for example), but even more on the subjective plane. Many Soviet authors who used the expression "mass consciousness" and even tried somehow to be explicit about it, failed to make any clear-cut delineation between class consciousness and mass consciousness. They preferred to hold to the less meaningful but, it seemed to them, ideologically guaranteed abstraction that mass consciousness is only the consciousness of a mass of representatives of a definite class, group or stratum. Others who leaned toward the bourgeois concepts of "the mass society" were ready to state that this consciousness is in general fictional, a propaganda trick.

What is the universe of public consciousness? It is a unique methodological bridgehead to the main theme and, we think that it is of more interest to philosophy than to sociology. But as they analyze the public consciousness, sociologists describe its subject matter in the concepts of group commonalties and focus research efforts on the study of people's group behavior (without, of course, losing sight of the general human consciousness and the consciousness of the individual).

Sociologists start with the obvious statement of the historical heterogeneity of class and group consciousness. At any given moment the consciousness of any particular sector, detachment or class subgroup is the bearer of various levels of development in class consciousness in general. Some of them have for a long time been capable of "sticking" on one of the steps of this development. The advance of individual sections of a class or of its generational strata cannot be considered in terms of a mechanistic predetermination of their consciousness by only a single objective social status. They are capable of becoming the bearers even of the "alien" consciousness of another group; real history simply teems with such examples. B.A. Grushin also draws attention to the obvious but often overlooked fact of syncretism in the consciousness of any community. He records also the lack of coincidence in group consciousness itself in groups with their actual consciousness.

At the turn of the last century and this, the author suggests, the social sciences encountered circumstances that were previously quite unknown: some communities of people demonstrated forms of behavior that differed significantly from the ordinary group forms. It turned out that these communities win over volunteers from all strata of the population and they come into being in an unpredictable ways on an *ad hoc* basis, as it were. These kinds of "non-classical" communities with a special type of public (but not group) consciousness also turn out to

be bearers of the phenomenon that was subsequently named "the mass consciousness." Initially, science focused its efforts on a study of the relative limitations and objects such as "crowd" and "the public," which are extremely impoverished in terms of their own specific character features; because of this—by dint of the generally undeveloped nature of sociology itself and its ideological weaknesses—research then immediately deliberately set off along a false path: after uttering a few true observations about so unusual a subject, they equated the actions of the popular masses in a most deplorable manner with crowd behavior, the behavior of an "ochlos" [Greek word for "rabble"—ed] or a random mob.

Meanwhile, our stormy century brought increasing and startling evidence about the genesis of these "non-classical" communities; they had emerged on the basis of various mass political and sociocultural movements, the audiences of the mass media, communities of the members of all manner of associations and diverse societies, the consumer masses, and in particular those communities that turn out to be the bearers of public opinion that is contradictory in terms of stances assumed and fickle in its preferences and acts as a relatively independent agent in social activity. Although the opportunities for considering the nature of these communities grew many times over, at the level of strict theoretical models and definitions they are still far from realization even now.

How to explain this enigmatic phenomenon under the conditions of present-day highly stratified societies? A major part of the book is devoted to analysis of the still not yet fully explained processes of "massization" in such societies. Their source is considered in the capitalist enterprise, when a significant aggregate of formally independent individuals is involved in activity. Mass processes in the production sphere are then extended to other sectors of social activity. "One very important and integral part and at the same time powerful catalyst in all these processes are the forms of mass culture to which they give rise, and the standards of spiritual life associated with the emergence and operation of various kinds of so-called mass information in society" (p 175).

The book also carefully traces the contradictions in the mass processes of present-day societies. The greater number of interpersonal connections have been burdened with a growing formalization and the danger of a withering of the spiritual-moral content of such intercourse. The relative independence of individuals from particular relations facilitates involvement in mass communities, but with the increase in the total number of kinds of mass activity, the unique personal qualities of individuals are so "finely ground" from various sides that a phenomenon occurs in which they all become similar as such.

Are these processes connected with the substantial changes in the social structure of present-day societies? Of course, the author replies. As applied to our society

this means that its advance to social homogeneity is taking place not in the form of simple atrophy of any kind of differentiation but by way of changes in the types of the differentiation itself. In the book this is interpreted as a transition from the deeper and broader differences to more numerous but less deep and broad differences. The essential nature of the changes in the social structure is seen not in "destratification" but in the appearance of new factors characterizing the position of communities in a given structure and the methods by which they interact. "In other words, the boundaries between 'strata' remain but the outline and configuration and even the character and properties of these boundaries acquire new features" (pp 195-196).

Thinking about the results of the advance into the proscenium by the active historical activity of a enormous multitude of people and the functioning of mass communities, the author suggests the following conclusion: society's movement goes in a direction leading from 'rigid' social structures, 'closed' classes and tightly partitioned 'castes' toward more flexible, elastic communities. Territorial and social mobility are increasing rapidly, and as a result shifts between the previously almost impenetrable "compartments" of society are easier to make and are becoming both more mobile and increasingly friable and unsealed. In today's disconnected but also interdependent world it is essential (not at all because of the fear of being accused of "convergence" attitudes) to distinguish the features of mass processes in different societies, for they truly are specific.

Lack of definition follows the concept of "mass" like a shadow: for operations with self-evident representatives (often arising on a purely semantic base) or with developed concepts are productive only up to a certain point. One after another the author rejects the false attributes of the mass such as spontaneity, randomness, short-lived nature, depersonalization and so forth. In order to describe the actual properties of the masses as special kinds of social communities it has been necessary to advance a multidimensional logical construct. This is presented to the reader according to the rules of comparison for invariant "families" of group attributes and mass attributes. Whereas groups are in the nature of organic, system formations, the masses act as statistically unstructured and amorphous communities. Hence the property of anonymity of the individual in a community, not binding for the group but indispensable for the mass. There is more: whereas groups have their own definition and stability of boundaries, the masses are stochastic in nature, and are "an imprecise multitude," when entry into the community is unordered, which makes its composition indeterminate quantitatively and qualitatively. The existence of groups does not depend on any kind of specific methods for their activity, but masses are formed on a situational basis and within the boundaries of a particular activity. They are a function of that activity and not of some other behavior. Finally, while groups are distinguished by their homogenous makeup, masses are characterized by heterogeneity and their

frankly extragroup and intergroup nature. They are, to use the author's striking definition, the quintessence of extrastructural, floating "islands" within the group structure of the social continuum; against this backdrop, assertions that present-day communities are being transformed from class communities into mass communities seem so abstract!

The book emphasizes that several other relationships have been shaped and exist between the masses and mass consciousness, as between the "classic" groups and the group consciousness. The very dependence between consciousness and its subject-bearers turns out to be nonrigorous and arbitrary and in the nature of a probability. Moreover, analysis has required the isolation of broad types and kinds of mass consciousness, which are at the same time inherently different in terms of objective characteristics in mass communities; which strengthens the relative independence of consciousness from specific bearers.

The author avoids the sophisticated traps of abstract contrasts between random and institutionalized methods for the emergence of mass consciousness, revealing their real mutual influence as indissoluble aspects of one whole process. Having set out on the path of this kind of contrast, one inevitably encounters the following question: how, strictly speaking, does it happen that conditions for life activity that are qualitatively the same for people can give rise to different types of consciousness, and vice versa, the same types of consciousness can arise under different conditions of direct existence? But the fact is that a specific type of consciousness is formed not only by dint of the similarity of conditions of experience of life but also as the result of their prolonged and multifaceted interaction. The products of specialized social institutions are sown in the consciousness from outside, forming an iridescent spectrum of all possible kinds of combinations of factors of production and reproduction of the mass consciousness (mutual repulsion, adaptation, accumulation, shift and amalgamation as the result of prolonged circulation of ideas, images, notions ect moving "from top to bottom" and "from bottom to top").

It is difficult to offer an integrated assessment of the panoramic theory of mass consciousness developed by B.A. Grushin, and we suggest that to do so would be over hasty. The task for the reviewer inclined to panegyric would be considerably facilitated if all that were needed were to express individual claims on the book in which in fact we meet repetition, prolixity, the same sets of names of sociologists subjected to criticism, and other faults. One thing is clear: the conclusions from virtually all the sections of this "breakthrough" book for sociology are of exceptional importance for an understanding of the ideological processes taking place in present-day societies. They will help in ridding ourselves of all kinds (primarily complacent) of dogmas regarding the nature of the interaction between different kinds of world outlooks, and in understanding better the deep levels of

the mass consciousness and its almost sensory outer layers. The main components of the concept of mass consciousness must still be given a foundation for the multitude of partial sociological theories and the outgrowths of applied work. The true test of this concept for stability will come only during the process of practical research work.

Yu.V. Sogomonov.

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In the Shops Now, But Not Being Bought...

The editor recently asked the following question of the central office of "Akademknigi" and also "Mosknigi": which works by Soviet sociologists published in recent years have still not been sold out? The answers were

obtained without restraint. Why is it that year after year purchasers avoid the books enumerated in the list published below? It is possible that blunders in the trade organization may be exerting a certain effect here. But only to a certain extent. The main defects must evidently be sought in the book themselves. The most eloquent review of our output is perhaps tapped out not by the typewriter but by the cash registers.

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